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ABSTRACT

An introduction to Pennsylvania German reviews the history of the Pennsylvania Germans' migration to the United States, examines the Pennsylvania German dialect both historically and descriptively, discusses the literature written in the dialect, and looks at its present status and possible future. Because the dialect is an extreme example of Mischsprache, combining Southwest German and Swiss dialects with English, Pennsylvania German offers an outstanding example of how a language adapts to its surroundings and ensures its survival by absorbing English loan words. The Pennsylvania German dialect will probably continue to be spoken widely, despite its isolation from High German. (MSE)

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THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN DIALECT: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

A Thesis Presented

by

Elizabeth Austin

to

The Faculty of the Graduate College

of

The University of Vermont

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts

February, 1978

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Accepted by the Faculty of the Graduate College, the University of Vermont, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, specializing in German.

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Abstract

This thesis offers a general introduction to the study of the Pennsylvania German dialect. It begins by reviewing the history of the Pennsylvania Germans who were driven from Europe by the ravages of war, social injustice, and religious persecution during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the beginning of the Revolutionary War, some 110,000 German speaking settlers had moved to Southeastern Pennsylvania. These Americans provided the foundation of Pennsylvania Germanism; they brought with them to America a rich culture and diverse dialects which eventually amalgamated to form the Pennsylvania German dialect as we know it today.

A historical and descriptive approach is used in examining the Pennsylvania German dialect. Because Pennsylvania German is an extreme example of a "Mischsprache", combining Southwest German and Swiss dialects with English, it offers an outstanding example of how every language moulds to its surroundings. The phonological, morphological, and syntactic elements of this dialect are presented. At the same time, the adaptability of this dialect to its environment is emphasized; for the absorption of English loan words, to a great degree, has insured the survival of the dialect up to the present day.

In addition to the linguistic and grammatical aspects of Pennsylvania German, the literature written in this dialect is presented. Both the linguistic and literary presentations of Pennsylvania German are directed to the underlying question posed in the beginning of the thesis: can this dialect,isolated from standard High German,survive in the decades to come? Only in the concluding chapter does it become apparent that the Pennsylvania German dialect is alive and well in Pennsylvania and will remain so for some time to come.

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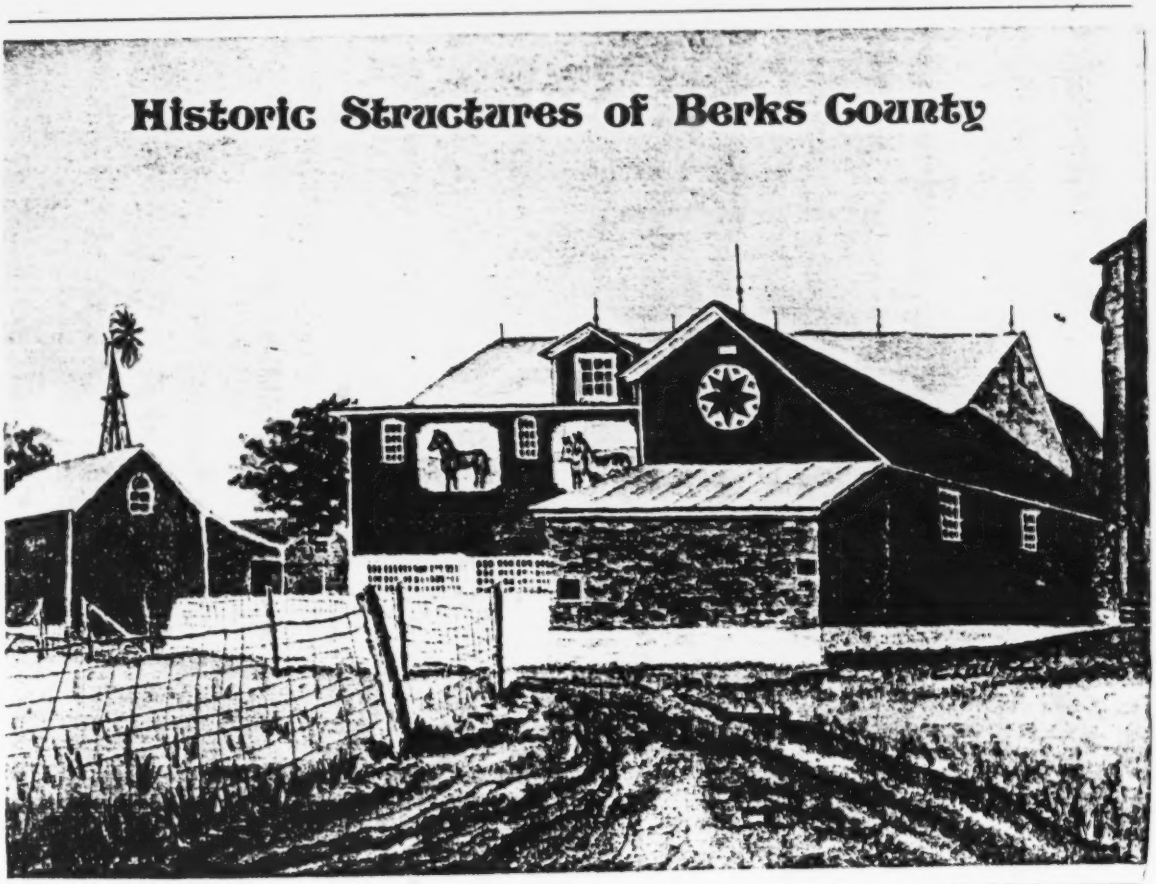
EINE BETEUERUNG

Ich bin e Pennsylvänier
D'ruff bin ich stolz un froh.
Das Land ist schö, die Leut sin nett
Bei Tschinks! ich mach' schier en'ge Wett,
'S biets ke' Land der Welt....

Louis A. Wollenweber
Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben
(Philadelphia and Leipzig, 1869)



The Heffner family farm near Fleetwood, typical of many old Berks County farms, with their ornately decorated barns and outbuildings.

INTRODUCTION

The peoples of many different nations have contributed and continue to contribute to the growth and development of the United States. They found the courage to uproot themselves and face the harsh conditions of the New World for a variety of reasons: religious or political persecution, dreams of material wealth, or just simply a sense of adventure and a desire for a new beginning. Along with other nationalities, the peoples of German origin have certainly played their part in the making of American history.

Beginning with the first shipload of thirteen German families aboard the "Concord", landing at Philadelphia on October 6, 1683, the flow of settlers from German speaking areas of Europe has been almost uninterrupted. And, in conjunction with William Penn's "Holy Experiment", their goal especially in the early years was Pennsylvania. These emigrations have, of course, mirrored the political situation in their native land where varying crises have escalated the exodus to the New World. However, once the first arrivals could get word to their families and friends back home about the richness and the lack of persecution in America, many joined the flow of immigrants just to answer the challenge of a new life.

The pages of history books illustrate repeatedly the contributions these Pennsylvania Germans have made in the

building of this country. Well known Americans, such as General John H. Pershing, Amelia Earhart, Isaac Funk of Funk and Wagnalls, the merchant John Wanamaker, Clark Gable, and even the paternal ancestors of Abraham Lincoln, can all trace their families back to the settlers of a region of Pennsylvania comprising and surrounding Berks, Lancaster, and Lehigh counties. In addition to the leadership of the Pennsylvania Germans in commerce, war, technology, and other fields, their ancestors brought with them from Europe a rich and distinctive culture. The language and traditions of these people have persisted, and remain today to remind us all of their pride in their heritage and their identity as "Pennsylvania Dutch".

It is the initial purpose of this thesis to examine the history of these Pennsylvania Germans. It is common knowledge that the term "Deutsch" has been carried over into English to give them the popular name of "Pennsylvania Dutch". However, in deference to their language and to help emphasize the incorrect association of these people with the true Dutch of Holland, the term "Pennsylvania German" will be used. Once their origins both in Germany and the New World have been clarified, this thesis will turn to a study of the language of the Pennsylvania Germans. For through language, a people and their culture take shape and build their identity. Although their dialect continues to show similarities to its forbear in Germany, Pennsylvania German too has taken on elements of the New World to render it a distinct dialect of its own.

Once this thesis has attempted to describe the history and the language of the Pennsylvania Germans, it will focus on today. How much of the language and culture, music, folklore, and cuisine exist today in Pennsylvania, over and above that associated purely with tourism? And, most importantly, what are the chances of this valuable subculture's survival in the years to come? The emphasis all too often in the United States is on uniformity: the universal MacDonald Hamburger found today from Munich to San Francisco, or the super highway which often obscures and divides the individual features of a landscape. How can the culture of these Pennsylvania Germans hold its own, and is anything being done to insure its survival as we rapidly approach the twenty-first century?

CHAPTER I

The Background of the Pennsylvania Germans and the Causes of their Emigration.

It is the German settlers who came to Pennsylvania prior to the American Revolution who determined the dialect spoken in the German regions of that state today. Most of these settlers came to America from a section of Germany known as the Rhine Palatinate. Some of these immigrants were of Swiss origin and had settled in the Palatinate briefly before setting out for Pennsylvania. Still others stemmed from regions near the Palatinate, from Württemberg and Swabia, for example, close to the Rhine River, which gave them easy access to water routes abroad.

The largest number of early German Pennsylvanians, however, can claim the Eastern or Western Palatinate as their homeland. A proud and long established state in Germany, the Rhine Palatinate came into existence in the twelfth century. It was an area populated for centuries by the Alemanni tribe, a tribe which had fought successfully against the Romans to insure their independence. With its founding in the High Middle Ages, the Palatinate was governed first of all by the family of Hohenstaufen and remained a hereditary sovereignty until 1801.[1]

The geographical position of this German state should be emphasized, because its location has often conditioned its fate. The Rhine Palatinate, as its name indicates,

John Rodes. Germany: A History.(New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964.)p.169.

Rhine-Palatinate in the 18th Century - Kurfürstentum Pfalz im 18. Jahrhundert ⑤

Lester Seifert and Carroll Reed. A linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German. (Marburg: Lahn, 1954.)p.5.

occupied land on both sides of the Rhine River. Its borders were marked by Mainz in the North, Speyer in the South, the area around Darmstadt in the East, and Zweibrücken in the West. In other words, the Rhine Palatinate was centrally located and thus took the brunt of the wars and unrest which criss-crossed through Europe following the Reformation (see map p.5).

It is general knowledge that the land known at one time as the Rhine Palatinate is rich in fertile soil. Moreover, since Roman times its location on the Rhine River has been a constant boost to trade and commerce. Why then should such a bountiful province provide the New World with so many settlers, so that by the beginning of the American Revolution a total of 110,000 Palatines had emigrated to Pennsylvania alone, excluding those who had died along the way?[2]

The first and most important contributors to discontent in the Rhine Palatinate were the ravages of the 30 Years' War, which raged from 1618 until 1648. Included in the religious movement resulting from the Reformation were also the inhabitants of the Rhine valley. Many turned to Protestantism, which brought them into conflict with Roman Catholic princes everywhere. Army after army tore through the region of the Rhine Palatinate. The Spanish army under Spinola invaded the area in 1620, shortly after the beginning of the 30 Years' War. 1634 brought further destruction following the defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen, and the French armies under Turenne and Condé

swept through the Palatinate again in 1645. Torturing by these armies accompanied the ravaging of the land and property of the war victims. Many historical accounts document how citizens like those in Heidelberg in 1622 were, for example, burned with hot irons and pierced with hot nails.[3]

Not only did the war directly affect the inhabitants of the Palatinate, but it led to famine and pestilence, which reached their peak in the mid 1630's. Cannibalism became a real danger, and wild wolves roamed the countryside.[4] So extensive was the destruction of the 30 Years' War that by the time the war was temporarily brought to a close with the signing of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, only an estimated quarter of the inhabitants and their farm land remained in the Rhine Palatinate.[5]

Despite these grim statistics, the first decade after the signing of the Peace of Westphalia witnessed a tremendous recovery. Religious toleration was the general trend, and under the moderate rule of Karl Ludwig prosperity began to return to the Palatinate. Light taxes and empty land attracted many settlers from Switzerland, France, and Holland. Mennonites and Anabaptists, among other sects, were allowed to practice their religion once again. In a remarkably short time, the Rhine Palatinate began to resemble the land it had been prior to 1618.

However, a new war broke out in 1674. The war between Holland and France managed to involve the German Emperor Leopold as well, and once again the Palatinate was ravaged

and war torn. Following the commands of Louis XIV, Marshal Turenne was ordered in 1674 to devastate the Palatinate for the second time. Villages and crops were burned, and famine plagued the inhabitants once again.

This conflict was only a preliminary one to the war which broke out between France and Germany in 1688. The death in 1685 of the Elector Philip Wilhelm brought to an end the Simmern-Zweibrücken dynasty which had ruled over the Palatinate. Louis XIV intended to invade the region to usurp the Electorate for his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orléans.[6] However, when he ordered his troops into the Palatinate, he encountered resistance from all the princes of Northern Europe. Those of England, Holland, and Germany stood up against him, leaving Louis XIV feeling desparate. His reaction to such unexpected resistance was to take vengeance on the Palatinate.

In September, 1688, Louis XIV ordered his troops to "brûler le Palatinat!", to demand all material goods from the inhabitants and then to burn what remained. Not without resistance, the Palatinate was forced to capitulate. It remained a convenient place for the garrisoning of French troops as Louis carried out his campaign to expand the borders of France. Within a two-year period, the cities of Heidelberg, Laudenberg, Mannheim, Speyer, Worms, Bingen, Oppenheim, and Frankenthal, to name a few, were burnt to the ground.

In addition to the random burning and pillaging, these years were particularly hard on the members of the Reform-

ed Church. Since the Peace of Westphalia, the inhabitants of the Rhine Palatinate had grown accustomed to religious freedom. However, Louis was determined to wipe out heresy. His campaign to burn Reform Church property was matched by that of John William, ruler of the Palatinate beginning in the year 1690. By 1693, most Reform Churches were in Catholic hands; and for the next decade, Protestants, a majority in the Palatinate, suffered nagging insults from the Catholic ruler. For the first time since the beginning of hard times in the Palatinate, religion became a major factor in driving people from the region.[7]

Finally the war between Germany and France was terminated with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Although the Palatinate was left in peace, little relief was given to those of Protestant faith. And, once again, only a short time was granted the residents of the Palatinate to recover from the destruction of Louis' armies. In the year 1701, the War of the Spanish Succession broke out; it lasted until 1713. More hostile armies overran the Palatinate, most notably in 1707. In that year, signs of a recovery were wiped out following the French and German War, when French troops under Marshal Villars terrorized all of Southern Germany. Villar's actions finally served to unite all the German princes against Louis XIV and France.

Such devastation brought about by wars - first the 30 Years' War, followed by the War between France, Holland, and Germany, and finally by the War of the Spanish Success-

ion - was not the only hardship confronting the inhabitants of the Palatinate. Religious persecution beginning around 1690 under Duke John William has already been mentioned. What then were the other factors that matched the devastation of war and religious intolerance to render life in the Rhine Palatinate intolerable?

During the reign of Louis XIV, which lasted from 1643 until 1715, the court at Versailles gained a reputation throughout Europe for extravagance. Louis XIV not only brought disaster to the people of the German territories through his acts of war; he deepened the social inequalities of the day by giving the ambitious German princes a model of courtly grandeur. As early as the second half of the seventeenth century, the effects of Versailles could be felt through increased taxation. The peasants were thrown back further into the age of feudalism with the burden of higher taxes which were used to build lavish palaces for the princes and to help them wage the many wars which befell Europe around the turn of the eighteenth century. While the teachers and pastors starved along with the general population, officers of the court lived an opulent existence.[8]

Wars and various social inequalities may have been barely tolerable for the people of the Palatinate had not one more misfortune struck. Added to the War of the Spanish Succession was the severe winter of 1708-1709. Food was already scarce enough with crops destroyed by

armies and confiscated by princes. Now, all major rivers froze, including the sea along the coast. Much of the food could not be transported to needy areas, and commerce in general was brought to a standstill. In addition to extremely cold temperatures which made it difficult even to burn firewood, it snowed in much of Europe well into February.[9] Only with the approach of May did the temperatures abate, after having killed most of the fruit trees and vineyards.

The constant misery of the people in and around the Palatinate brought about by repeated wars, high taxation, and finally a very cruel winter was extreme. Only one stroke of luck came the way of the Palatines during this era of hardship: from England word was brought that land was opening up in the New World. The possibility of immigration existed at last for Germans as well as for the Dutch, English, Swedes, and other nationalities who had already spent much of the seventeenth century exploring the New World while German states were caught up in war. But why was it that so many Palatines and their neighbors wound up settling in Pennsylvania, bringing with them the language and culture that still exist in the state today?

The figure who drastically altered the destiny of Pennsylvania and its German community is the man after whom the state is named: William Penn. Ever since 1608 and the explorations of Captain John Smith in the Chesapeake Bay area, the Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers had been the favored regions of many European explorers. A

group of Swedes was the first to found a settlement inside the present border of Pennsylvania in 1643. Under their governor, Johan Printz, the very first courts and local government were established in the state.

The land comprising Pennsylvania was destined to change hands, however. The territory was taken over in 1655 by Peter Stuyvesant, who claimed it for Holland. But Dutch supremacy in the Delaware and Pennsylvania regions was short-lived, as Colonel Richard Nicholls established firm English rule in the area in 1664. With only about two thousand inhabitants, these territories remained under the rule of the Duke of York until 1681. In that year, he granted almost all of the land which is present-day Pennsylvania to William Penn in order to cover a debt of sixteen thousand pounds Sterling owed Penn's father, Admiral Penn, by Charles II.[10]

Soon after the tremendous tract of land was granted to Penn, it was to be given a name. Penn's choice was "New Wales", in honor of his homeland. His suggestion was unpopular, however, so Penn proposed "Sylvania" in tribute to its beautiful forests. The King then added Penn's own name onto "Sylvania". Almost immediately Penn began work on a Frame of Government for his province, and sent three commissioners to Pennsylvania to find a good location for a "Great Town". The site of Philadelphia was already chosen and the first houses under construction when Penn himself arrived in October, 1682, to settle in his new home

as Governor.

Penn's religious convictions were most responsible for shaping the laws and policies of Penn's land. William Penn had become a Quaker early in his life, and had spent much time on the European continent as a missionary. Once he acquired land in the New World, his missionary fervor was transferred to his own territory. He determined that Pennsylvania should become a "Holy Experiment" in government. The foundation of his experiment was to be religious as well as political freedom for all.[11] Included in his Frame of Government of 1682, Pennsylvania's first Constitution, was the following affirmation:

> "...any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, and confusion."[12]

William Penn's dream of freedom for all, expressed in his Frame of Government, and the Quaker belief in nonviolence also led him to deal fairly with the Indians. As early as November, 1682, Penn met with the chiefs of several Indian tribes, the Lenni Lenape, the Susquehannock, and the Shawnee, to assure them of his good will and their rights in Penn's new province. The Indians were to enjoy equal status with the Englishmen in the eyes of Penn's law.

How did the Germans of the Rhine region find out about Penn's "Holy Experiment"? It has already been mentioned that Penn had spent time as a missionary in Europe. First,

in 1671 Penn visited the Rhine Palatinate as well as other German regions to preach the principles of the Quakers. It is significant to note that Penn was a German scholar. During 1663, he had spent time at a Protestant college in Saumur, France, studying both classic and modern languages, including French and German.[13] Thus he was able to bring the teachings of the Quakers to the Germans in their own language. This one factor alone must have been largely responsible for Penn's good rapport with the Palatines, who grew to know and trust him.

Again in 1677 Penn spent time in Holland and Germany as a missionary. He and fellow Quakers George Fox, Robert Barclay, and George Keith were especially well received, as their visit happened to coincide with the rise of the pietistic movement in Germany.[14] Keeping in mind that Germany was once more being devasted by war between France and Holland, and had just suffered great destruction under Marshal Turenne in 1674, it is easy to understand why people turned from a more intellectual to a more emotional approach to religion. Because of the Quaker emphasis on the Holy Spirit, which redirected the foundation of religious faith from "the head to the heart", Penn reported that he and his Quaker group were well received everywhere.[15]

During the course of Penn's visit in 1677, he made a point of stopping in Kriegsheim near Worms, Mühlheim an der Ruhr, and Frankfurt am Main. It was in this last town that Penn developed friendships with Dr. Wilhelm Petersen, his wife Johanna Eleonora von Merlau, Daniel Behagel,

A

LETTER

FROM

WILLIAM PENN,

PROPRIETOR and GOVERNOR

OF

PENNSILVANIA in AMERICA,

TO

The COMMITTEE of the Free Society of TRADERS of that Province, residing in LONDON.

CONTAINING

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION of the said Province, its Soil, Air, Water, Seasons and Produce, both Natural and Artificial, and the Good Increase thereof. With an Account of the NATIVES, or ABORIGINES.

Selected Works of William Penn. London, 1771. p.606

Jacob van de Wall and other pietists who subsequently founded the Frankfurt Company. Once Penn had established Pennsylvania, the Frankfurt Company was the first from that region to purchase twenty five thousand acres of land in the province, with the intention of eventually moving to the New World. Because Penn wanted to bring settlers to his land to help him realize his "Holy Experiment", such a vast amount of land cost the Frankfurt Company only five hundred pounds!

Not only did Penn exhibit the qualities of a good businessman by asking low prices for his land, but he also sought to publicize the richness of his province in a book entitled Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America. This book appeared in 1681, first in London and later that year in German as Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in America.[16] Because of Penn's interest in German, he saw to it that his book appeared in translation, so that as many people as possible might hear of his new colony where he hoped to establish religious and political freedom for all. Penn's book was just the first on the subject of Pennsylvania to be written over a twenty year period. Several others were written to describe the positive aspects of life in Pennsylvania, making that colony the best advertised of any in America (see p. 15).

Wars, famine, and injustice had made life in many parts of Europe miserable during the seventeenth century.

William Penn offered an alternative to a group of people who perhaps had the least to lose in leaving their homeland. With Penn's knowledge of German and his religious interests in Germany, he set the stage for the departure of the first families on the "Concord" in 1683. And, it was these people from the Rhine Palatinate who set an example for the thousands who followed them to Pennsylvania in the decades to come.

CHAPTER II

Clarification of the Term "Pennsylvania Germans" and the Story of their Odyssey to America.

German colonists too had their equivalent of the English "Mayflower", namely the "Concord". The Pennsylvania Germans can be proud that their ancestors, aboard the "Concord", initiated all German immigration to America in 1683. Although they have been on the Western side of the Atlantic longer than any other German group, the Pennsylvania German language and culture have endured almost a full three centuries since their birth in 1683.[17]

Although all Americans of German background can claim the "Concord" as their mother ship, not all such Americans are "Pennsylvania Germans"! Who then are the people who merit this title? As emphasized in Chapter I, German immigrants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left the Palatinate for reasons of deprivation and religion. Finding rich soil in Pennsylvania to cultivate, in an atmosphere of freedom, they developed a distinctive culture of their own during the course of the eighteenth century. Untouched by the effects of the industrial revolution which was to follow American independence, the Pennsylvania German culture of colonial times took shape around farm life and religious traditions.

Today only those descendants of the German colonists who continue to speak the dialect which reflects its Palatine origins can be regarded as "Pennsylvania Dutch". Thus Americans of German, Austrian, or Swiss background whose

ancestors had brought totally different dialects, educational backgrounds, and lifestyles to the United States in later decades cannot be regarded as Pennsylvania Germans. It must be pointed out that others of varying ethnic backgrounds consider themselves "Pennsylvania Dutchmen" after they have fully adopted the dialect and traditions established by those seventeenth and eighteenth century Germans who settled in Southeastern Pennsylvania.[18]

The German immigration to Pennsylvania prior to 1775 is generally broken down into three stages. The first stage reflects the smallest flow of Germans to Penn's province between the years 1683 and 1710. In 1710, with the coming of the Swiss Mennonites, the number of settlers grew steadily. The second era of immigration roughly includes the years from 1710 to 1727. Finally, beginning in 1727, the immigration was of such large porportions that official statistics and names were kept of all incoming settlers to the port of Philadelphia.[19] Again, with the outbreak of the American Revolution, all immigration stopped, but only after almost half of Pennsylvania's population, which in 1775 totalled 225,000, included German speaking Americans.

The very first of the Pennsylvania Germans was Francis Daniel Pastorius; it is he who was responsible for organizing the group which came to Philadelphia aboard the "Concord". Pastorius was born in Sommerhausen in 1651. He attended five universities before finishing a degree

in Law in 1675, and was also familiar with seven languages besides his own! A well-educated man fresh from his university studies, Pastorius undertook a trip through Europe, expressing his youthful "Wanderlust". It was in part his love of travel which was later to inspire his move to America.

In 1682, he returned to Frankfurt am Main, where he encountered the members of the newly founded Frankfurt Company, namely Dr. Wilhelm Petersen and his wife Johanna Eleonora von Merlau, and others of Quaker and Mennonite persuasion. These were the individuals who, in 1677, had met with William Penn. Pastorius learned of their purchase of twenty-five thousand acres in Pennsylvania, and of William Penn's proposal to establish a "Holy Experiment" there, where all people would live in freedom. A young man, keen on adventure, Pastorius decided he would like to live with his Christian friends in Pennsylvania. He became the agent of the Frankfurt Land Company and visited groups in Kriegsheim and Krefeld, near the Holland border, to arrange for their travel to Philadelphia aboard the "Concord". Pastorius himself sailed ahead of his group of Mennonite settlers, and landed on August 20, 1683, aboard the "America". On a section of land belonging to the Frankfurt Company slightly to the North of Philadelphia, Pastorius, together with thirteen Mennonite families, founded Germantown in October, 1683.[20]

As could be expected, the first winter was very severe for the settlers at Germantown, although probably no more

miserable than living conditions they had left behind in war-torn Europe. However, with the coming of spring and summer, many improvements were made in Germantown. Hope for the future seems to have inspired many to write positive reports of life in Pennsylvania to relatives and friends in Europe. One settler, Cornelius Bom, wrote the following description of his new life in Germantown to a person in Rotterdam, on October 12, 1684:

> "I have here a shop of many kinds of goods and edibles. Sometimes I ride out with merchandise, and sometimes bring something back, mostly from the Indians, and deal with them in many ways....I have no rent or tax or excise to pay. I have a cow which gives plenty of milk, a horse to ride around; my pigs increase rapidly, so that in the summer I had seventeen, where at first I had only two. I have many chickens and geese, and a garden, and shall next year have an orchard, if I remain well, so that my wife and I are in good spirits." 21

The abundance of food and the absence of taxes emphasized in Bom's letter contrast life in Pennsylvania with that in Germany, where people lacked food because of the constant state of war, and where they were also heavily taxed to provide princes with palaces imitating Versailles. Newly established Pennsylvanians, like Bom, contributed a great deal of free advertising for Penn's province in their letters to their homeland!

By the end of the first stage of German immigration to America, between 3,000 and 4,000 Palatines and their

neighbors had settled in Southeastern Pennsylvania.[22] A particularly large group of pietists arrived in 1685. And the population of Pennsylvania swelled once again in 1694 with the arrival of a band of mystics. This last group, under the leadership of Johann Kelpius, had abandoned war-torn Württemberg and had come to the New World to await the coming of the Lord. They felt sure that Christ would appear at the turn of the century, and to aid them in spotting signs of his coming they built an astrological tower where they could keep watch.[23] A group with such extreme beliefs again reflects the misery they had left behind in Germany, misery which had driven many people to various forms of mysticism.

Some of the three to four thousand Germans remained close to Germantown, while others spread along the Schuylkill River and the Skippack and Wissahickon Creeks. Many of those settlers who didn't take up farming were linen weavers who set up looms in their homes. Paper was also manufactured beginning in 1690, after William Rittenhouse erected the first papermill in America on the banks of Wissahickon Creek. The Pennsylvania settlers have always proven to be industrious, as well as active and interested in the fate of their community. It is a tribute to these pietists that in 1690, some one hundred and seventy-five years before the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation following the Civil War, the citizens of Germantown, still under the leadership of Francis Daniel Pastorius, made the

first protest against negro slavery.[24]

Attention must again be turned to events in Europe to understand why the numbers of immigrants to Pennsylvania swelled in 1710, initiating the second period of German immigration. The War of the Spanish Succession, involving most regions of Europe, was at its height in 1708. Added to the misery and famine of war was the extremely cold winter of 1708-1709 which led to the starvation of thousands on the European continent. Finally, religious intolerance culminated in physical factors to further depress inhabitants.

Concurrent with these misfortunes, however, was the opening up of the New World. Since 1683, Palatines had thrived in Penn's province and their information about life in America supplemented Penn's Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in America, translated into German in 1681 (see p. 15). Furthermore, Penn's book was not unique: in 1697, Richard Blome's English America was translated into German and published at Leipzig. Francis Daniel Pastorius published Umständige Geographische Beschreibung in 1700, which dealt specifically with life in Pennsylvania. One of the most effective works describing life in America was presumably written by the Reverend Joshua Kocherthal in 1706. Kocherthal was later to lead a large group of Palatines from England to New York. But before ever having been to America, he supported the English effort to populate its North American colonies with his Ausführlich und

Umständlicher Bericht von der Berühmten Landschaft Carolina.[25]

Just as William Penn, through his direct contact with the Frankfurt Company, made possible the founding of Germantown in 1683, the English government under the rule of Queen Anne stimulated the second wave of Palatine emigration. Penn's motivation to establish his colony was largely based on idealism; he sought to carry out his "Holy Experiment" where all would be free to live and worship as they desired. What specifically motivated Queen Anne almost thirty years later to help inhabitants of the continent reach Pennsylvania?

Ever since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 by Louis XIV, England had been active in supporting the Protestant cause in Europe. Keeping in mind that England had also broken away from the Pope under Henry VIII, it is understandable that Queen Anne continued support of repressed Protestants upon her accession to the English throne in 1702. She consistently supported religious and civil rights for Protestants of all sects during diplomatic negotiations. In addition to political support, money was collected in England for the building of churches in various regions of Europe. And Queen Anne's consort was Prince George, a Lutheran of German decent, which further focused the Queen's attention on the affairs of the German principalities.[26]

Queen Anne's motives, much like William Penn's, were

idealistic in support of the Protestant cause in Europe. Economics, however, inspired the governmental machinery which organized and carried out the transportation of the Palatines to their new province in America. English colonization of America followed the seventeenth century mercantile principles of economics, which stressed that the larger the population of a country or province, the stronger its economy. With new lands acquired on the other side of the Atlantic, England saw the need to populate them as soon as possible.[27] In transporting Europeans who were eager to seek out lives in peace and freedom, first to England and then on to provinces in America, England was able to rescue Palatines while fulfilling its commercial goals.

Such were the circumstances behind Reverend Joshua Kocherthal's journey to Newburgh, New York, in 1708, with a group from the Rhenish Palatinate town of Landau.[28] Provided with free transportation and supplies, Kocherthal along with forty-one others travelled to London. In 1708, they crossed the sea to America to an area some fifty miles North of the town of New York. There they founded Newburgh, where they were expected to build naval supply stores for Britain. By 1713, however, lacking provisions, the settlers whose numbers had grown to over three thousand set off to the North on their own. They finally settled along the Mohawk River. In 1723, thirty-three of these families uprooted themselves again; hearing of the German colony

in Pennsylvania, they travelled down the Susquehanna River to Tulpehocken, in present day Berks County, where they founded a new German settlement. Their numbers were small, however, in the totality of Palatine immigration to Pennsylvania. Their main contribution was to advertise the British open-door policy to Palatines through letters and a pamphlet which Kocherthal himself wrote short after their arrival at the Newburgh site.

In Europe, with the let-up of the extreme winter conditions in early 1709, thousands made their way down the Rhine to Rotterdam and over to London. By June of that year approximately 11,000 Palatines had descended upon London. Erecting tents and shanties all over the city, they posed a great problem to the British government.[29] Not all could be transported to America at once: 3,800 were shipped to Ireland, many were sent to Carolina, and about 3,000 were sent to New York to join Kocherthal and his group. Still others remained permanently in England or were transported to Philadelphia in the years to come.[30]

From a different region of Europe, to the South of the Palatinate, came another group which played a major role in the early settlement of Pennsylvania. For decades in Switzerland, the Mennonites had been a thorn in the side of the Swiss government. By the sixteenth century, Switzerland was well known for its outstanding armies which were commissioned to fight in the various wars around Europe. Members of the Mennonite sect, like other pietists,

refused to bear arms. Furthermore, other aspects of their doctrine often conflicted with that of the established Reformed Church of Zwingli. From their first appearance in Switzerland in the early 1500's, Mennonites were victims of persecution.

Added to religious dilemmas were the oppressive social conditions in Switzerland. Still feudalistic in its outlook, the small Swiss governing class required exorbitant taxes as well as physical labor from the large body of peasants.[31] Though Switzerland did not suffer the effects of the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries directly, the religious and social problems mentioned above led inhabitants to seek a new homeland outside of the boundaries of Switzerland.

In fact, Mennonites had chosen to settle in the Palatinate as early as 1527. Despite wars and devastation, a group of seven hundred persons left their homes in Switzerland and moved northward to the Rhine Palatinate in 1671. These were also some of the first Palatines to head for London in 1709, to be dispersed later in Ireland, Carolina, New York, and Pennsylvania.

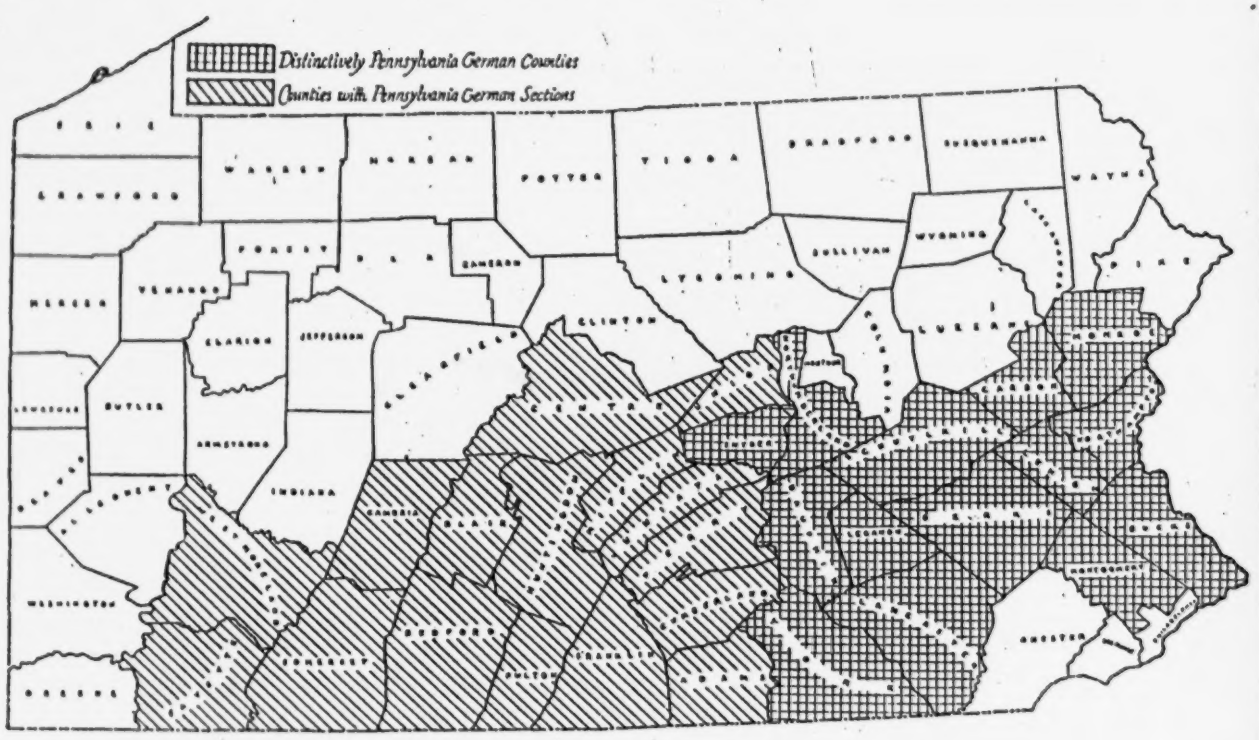
The group which made its way to Pennsylvania in 1710, however, came directly from its native Switzerland. The Canton of Berne, seeking a peaceful solution to its Mennonite problem and undoubtedly having heard of the move to populate lands on the other side of the Atlantic, paid for the exile of its Mennonites. Allowing them to sell

their property and to leave with their families, the Berne government transported the Mennonites down the Rhine and from Rotterdam to Philadelphia. As land around neighboring Germantown began to be settled, the Swiss Mennonites moved West, turning dense forests into the rich farmland of present-day Lancaster County. Two members of this group, Martin Kündig and Hans Herr, returned to the Palatinate and Switzerland to inform members of their sect of the good fortune which awaited settlers of the new lands in Pennsylvania. Thus began the steady stream of Swiss Mennonite settlers who helped to open up Lancaster County as well as other regions of Pennsylvania.[32]

The Palatines supported by England's colonizing efforts and the Swiss Mennonites exiled by their fellow countrymen cleared a path in the early 1700's for other Europeans to follow later. Naturally many evils evolved from the transportation of large numbers of people to ports in America. For years shipowners profited from the "German Slave Trade". Many poor people who could not afford to pay their passage allowed themselves to be sold to slave owners in America in return for the trip across the ocean.[33] Furthermore, no ocean crossing in the decades of the eighteenth century was a pleasant experience. Conditions were crowded on board ship; food and water were scarce and disease rampant. Only intolerable conditions in Europe can explain the uninterrupted flow of immigrants to America up to 1775.

It is estimated that approximately 20,000 German colonists lived in Pennsylvania by the time their names began to be recorded at the port of Philadelphia in 1727. Beginning in that year, the name of every ship, its captain, and the native country of the voyagers, as well as their individual names were recorded with some regularity. It is reported that from 1727 to 1734 all newcomers were Palatines. Both Palatines and Swiss arrived in Philadelphia in 1735. There are no specific statistics available for the years from 1734 to 1749; all arrivals were merely grouped together as "foreigners". But during the following years, from 1749 to 1754, the exact homelands of the immigrants were listed. These years witnessed the greatest influx of settlers, which totalled 31,896. They came from Württemberg, Erbach, Alsace, Zweibrücken, the Palatinate, Nassau, Hanau, Darmstadt, Basel, Mannheim, Mentz, Westphalen, Hesse, Switzerland; and a few were even from the more distant areas of Hamburg, Hannover, and Saxony.[34]

With the 20,000 arrivals prior to 1727 and the 69,000 who came between 1727 and the American Revolution, added to the thousands resulting from the natural increase in population, it is safe to assume that Carroll Reed's estimate of 110,000 Germans having settled in Pennsylvania by 1775 is correct.[35] The settlers did not limit themselves to the present-day boundaries of Pennsylvania. They travelled south and west, spilling into Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, and pushing west with the extention of



DISTRIBUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMANS

Ralph Wood. The Pennsylvania Germans. (Princeton University Press, 1943.) p.263.

the frontier. By the beginning of the American War of Independence, Pennsylvania Germans were well established in Berks and Lancaster Counties, as well as in the counties of Northhampton, Lehigh, Dauphin, and Lebanon. They also pushed west across the Susquehanna River to open up York and Cumberland Counties (see map p.29).

During the course of the first one hundred years of the German settlements in Pennsylvania, many groups contributed their dialects and cultures to the colonial melting pot. Most immigrants were originally from the regions of the Rhine Palatinate and its close neighbors. However, a large group of German speaking settlers had begun their trip across the Atlantic from Switzerland. Let us consider the nature of the language which evolved from such varying influences, the language which today identifies its speakers as descendants of the seventeenth and eighteenth century German immigrants to Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER III

The European and American Roots of the Pennsylvania German Dialect.

"Kein Ort in Deutschland kann darauf Anspruch erheben, daß das Pennsylvanische eine Fortsetzung seiner Mundart sei".[36] In these words, Ralph Wood succinctly states the effect of the seventeenth and eighteenth century German immigration on the language with today is known as the Pennsylvania German dialect. In view of the fact that many groups described in Chapter II contributed to the growing German-American community of Southeastern Pennsylvania, no single dialect was able to dominate totally the development of the Pennsylvania German spoken there today.

Pennsylvania German is an extreme example of a "Mischsprache".[37] After all, no language can be termed pure; each is made up of elements from many different languages spoken in neighboring provinces and countries. Throughout history, occupying armies, for example, have forced linguistic changes on conquered peoples. The Romans offer a clear example of this phenomenon with their strong influence on German dialects of two thousand years ago. Because Roman culture and technology were forced on the German population, many Latin words were adopted by their language. Such words as "pilum" and "porta", which underwent subsequent soundshifts to become "Pfeil" and "Pforte", verify the former close contact between the Romans and the Germanic peoples.[38]

Furthermore, languages are living and growing entities; they are constantly altering to adapt to a changing world. New words are introduced to describe elements of advancing technology, while old words fall into disuse and eventually drop from a language altogether. The syntax as well as phonological and morphological elements of a language are also subject to alteration. When a language does not generate a new word from its own resources, it can look to other languages to supply it with the expression it requires. Just as "radio", "interview", and derivatives of "supermarket" have become household words today throughout Europe, Americans have already incorporated words such as "boutique" and "Realpolitik" into their speech.

The Pennsylvania German dialect during its short three hundred years of development has undergone the same process of standardization of the various German dialects which are its forbears. In addition to standardization, it has assimilated words of the English language which surrounds the linguistic island of the Pennsylvania Germans. The Frankish dialect of the Palatinate was mixed with the Alemannic dialects of Württemberg and Switzerland, as well as with others from a number of German regions. The general consensus among scholars, such as Ralph C. Wood, Albert F. Buffington, J. William Frey, and Ernst Christmann, is that this language most closely resembles that which is spoken in the Eastern Palatinate, or the Vorderpfalz.

How would it come about that the linguistic features of one particular region, in this case the Palatinate East of the Rhine River, would dominate other dialects? Ernst Christmann describes the manner in which one dialect might win out over another in an immigrant community of mixed German dialects. First, he refers back to the records kept from the years 1727 to 1775 of the immigrants who arrived at the port of Philadelphia. These records consistently report the names of Palatines. Sprinkled among these names are also arrivals from Württemberg, Switzerland, and other regions. Christmann assumes that one village consisted of ten Palatine families of forty children, and fifteen families with sixty children from Württemberg, Switzerland, Alsace, Bavaria, Luxemburg, Hessen, Thüring, and Lorraine. The parents would generally maintain their native dialect as long as they lived. A natural levelling of the dialect would occur, however, among the children of these immigrants.

Taking the words "Apfel", "Strumpf", and "pflücken" as typical examples of everyday terms in the Pennsylvania German farming communities, Christmann observes that the Palatine children would pronounce them "Appel", "Strump", and "plicke". Their pronounciation also corresponds to that of the children of Luxemburg, Lorraine, and Hessen families. Therefore, well over fifty of the one hundred children would hold a majority with their dialect variations of "Appel", "Strump", and "plicke".[39] Clearly the

pronounciation of the majority would win out as the Pennsylvania German dialect developed.

Next to the process of standardization, assimilation of English words has greatly affected the nature of Pennsylvania German. This latter phenomenon has been continuous since the first German settlers were brought into contact with other settlers of English, Scottish, and Welsh backgrounds in Pennsylvania. In fact, lacking a standard orthography and rules of grammar for so many years, Pennsylvania German has become particularly flexible in its adoption of English loan words.

Because the German immigrants who came to Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution were primarily farmers, their language did not prove adequate to meet the industrial, political, and commercial needs of the following decades. Just as the Germanic dialects of the first and second centuries borrowed Latin terms, the Pennsylvania Germans have gradually incorporated American words into their speech. According to the findings of a study made by Albert F. Buffington in 1941, approximately seven percent of the words in conversations of younger German Pennsylvanians were English loan words.[40] Considering the technological advances of the last thirty-six years, it is safe to assume that this figure of seven percent would be somewhat higher in 1977.

What kind of words were most readily carried over into Pennsylvania German? Buffington points out that words for

distinctly American objects are the first to become English loan words, although they sometimes undergo spelling changes. "Fireworks", "drolley kars", and "sandwich" are examples of such words. Compound words have also often appeared in Pennsylvania German, mixing both German and English, as in the case of the following examples: fens-eck (fence corner), watcha-ket (watch chain), bockabuch (pocketbook). German words for such familiar objects as "fence corners" and "watch chains" could have sufficed for the German speaking community alone, had it not had to carry on commercial transactions with non-German speaking Americans. Because English has always been the official language in the United States, the Pennsylvania Germans have had to make themselves more easily understood through their English compound and loan words. Similarly words dealing specifically with the government have been absorbed, resulting in "reshta" (to arrest), "shreef" (sheriff), "politician", and "judge", among other words.[41]

Clearly the presence of English words in Pennsylvania German has enabled the language to adapt to its environment, and therefore endure through the present day. Another very important factor which has contributed to the survival of this dialect has been the religious life of many of the German immigrants. The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County provide a perfect example of a group which grew to be trilingual after coming to Pennsylvania. Naturally they spoke the Pennsylvania German dialect common to

Lancaster County among friends and family when the conversation was of a secular nature. English, usually laced with German loan words and a strong accent, was spoken when necessary to non-German speaking members of the community. Thirdly, they spoke Amish High German during prayer and preaching, which was the same language found in their Bibles.[42]

Although Amish High German was not spoken on a casual basis, but was reserved for religious services and readings from the Bible, it has played a role in the simple preservation of the German language. Before 1834, New High German which is the same as Amish High German, was the language not only of the Churches, but also of the newspapers and schools of Southeastern Pennsylvania.[43] However, after the common school law was passed in that same year requiring all children to attend American achools, the role of church life grew in keeping alive the German language. Outside of Church, hymns continued to be sung and at home the Bible was read in High German.

The Amish, along with other religious groups of Pennsylvania, have shown themselves to be extremely determined to preserve their clannish traditions, which include their language as well as their modest way of life. The emphasis they put on High German in their religious services cannot help but spill over into their daily lives and their mode of casual expression. Thus, it would seem logical that the Amish would continue their German dialect which

is but a derivation of the language of Church. Furthermore, the lifestyle of the Amish does not require that they accomodate themselves to the latest technological advances. Their modest existence revolving around the farm is well served by the Pennsylvania German dialect, with its selected English loan words.

The Pennsylvania German dialect is clearly a separate German dialect which, since its initiation in 1683, has experienced a certain degree of standardization. Furthermore, because of the process of assimilation of English loan words, it has accomodated its surrounding English speaking environment while remaining a dialect of the German language. The following chapter will deal more specifically with the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicology of the German dialect of Southeastern Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER IV

A Linguistic Description of the Pennsylvania German Dialect including English Influences on Pennsylvania German.

The consensus among scholars is that Pennsylvania German most closely resembles the dialect spoken today in the Eastern Rhine Palatinate, or Vorderpfalz. However, the Vorderpfalz did not contribute an absolute majority of the immigrants to Pennsylvania. Ernst Christmann's theory of the standardization of Pennsylvania German, described in Chapter III, illustrates how the features of the dialect of the Eastern Palatinate have come to dominate Pennsylvania German. During the first two hundred years of the life of this dialect, a levelling of linguistic features occurred, mingling elements of both the Franconian and the Alemannic dialects. The dialectical characteristics of the Franconian dialect of the Eastern Palatinate have dominated this selection process, while some, though not all, of the features unique to the Alemannic and Western Palatinate dialects slowly faded from Pennsylvania German.

During this gradual process of standardization, English was also exerting influence on the linguistic island of the Pennsylvania Germans. It is interesting to note that English has especially affected the syntax and vocabulary of Pennsylvania German; however, little evidence is present of English influence on its phonology and morphology which have remained distinctly German.[44] The sum

total of these various influences of standardization and English on the development of Pennsylvania German has resulted in the birth of a new and individual German dialect.

There are certain characteristics which Pennsylvania German shares with all other German dialects. First of all, it is particularly rich in vocabulary describing the home, the farm, farm animals, the seasons, and other natural phenomena. Since it is a dialect, however, it is not rich in words which describe abstract ideas. Secondly, Pennsylvania German has taken words which in High German have several meanings and given them one specific connotation. For example, "versuchen" in High German means both "to try" and "to taste", whereas in Pennsylvania German its meaning has been reduced to "to taste".[45]

In some instances, Pennsylvania German exhibits elements which are only found in the dialect of the Vorderpfalz and, surprisingly, some which are only present in the dialects of the Western Palatinate, Swabia, and Switzerland, despite the overall dominance of Franconian dialectical features. Also, many words which have long since died out in all other German dialects are in use today in Pennsylvania simply because the Pennsylvania German dialect has been severed from its mother language for almost three hundred years.

The phonological and morphological features which have developed as uniquely Pennsylvania German will be discussed further on in this chapter. Of immediate interest

are the phonology and morphology which link this dialect with its European cousins. It is interesting to note that no phonological elements from Alemannic dialects have survived in Pennsylvania German. However, much of the phonology of the dialect of the Eastern Palatinate (hereafter referred to as EP) is shared by the German dialect of Pennsylvania (hereafter referred to as PaG). The following is a list of the most outstanding phonological parallels:

1. In both EP and PaG, the long "a" sound of "Vater" and "baden" is replaced either by the low rounded back vowel (a:) (ex: baden = ba:de) or by long (o) (ex: fragen = froge).

2. Speakers of EP and PaG make no distinction between the pronounciation of "d" and "t" (ex: Tod = Dod).

3. The EP and PaG "r" in the initial and intervocalic positions is the tongue-tip trill, generally consisting of one flap only. However, in all other positions, before another consonant and in final position, the "r" becomes a mid-low mixed vowel (ə) (ex: Vater = fadə). 46

Otto Springer of the University of Pennsylvania has made an interesting study of one aspect of PaG phonology which specifically links this North American dialect with that of the Western and Northern Palatinate. He has studied the problem of "hypercorrect forms" which have been studied in a number of languages from French and Swedish to Latin and Greek. A hypercorrect form consists of a word which is mispronounced; the speaker initially seeks to elevate his or her social standing by disregarding a dialectical pronounciation of a certain word, and by accidentally overpronouncing the part of the word which has been

shortened in the dialect. Springer offers the example of James, the footman, who normally says "sayin', comin', chickin'. and captin'". James attempts to elevate his standard of speech, and thereby corrects all "in'" forms to "ing", resulting in "saying, coming, chicking, and capting".[47]

Using the social context of speech to explain the origin of many hypercorrect forms, Springer addresses himself specifically to the word "Atem" in German. In Lehigh, Berks, Lancaster, and Lebanon counties in Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Germans overpronounce "Atem", inserting the velar fricative "ch" before the "t" or "d" producing "Ochdem". Springer is able to prove that this hypercorrect form has not developed since the Germans came to America but rather was brought with them from their homeland. "Ochdem" is present in the dialect dictionaries of the Western and Northern Palatinate; at the time of Springer's research in 1943, "Ochdem" was used specifically between Saarbrücken and the Rhine, as well as sporadically in Northern Alsace and Northeastern Lorraine. Springer uses the evidence of the "Ochdem" hypercorrect form in both the German counties of Pennsylvania and the Palatinate as further evidence that the linguistic features of the Palatinate dominated those of the Swiss and Swabians during the standardization process of Pennsylvania German.[48]

The morphology of Pennsylvania German, on the other

hand, is not quite as homogeneous as its phonology, insofar as morphological features from a broader range of German dialects are present in the Pennsylvania German dialect of today. All its nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and verbs generally resemble those of Southwestern Germany as indicated in the following list of morphological features:

I. All nouns in PaG may be classified according to their plural forms of which there are three general types:

a) nouns with no endings in the plural.
   1. nouns with no plural ending and no root change (ex: sing. kareb, plur. kareb (Korb))
   2. nouns with no plural ending but with a root change (ex: sing. fogel, plur. fegel (Vogel))

b) nouns which add (e) to the singular to form the plural. (ex: sing. sdro:s, plur. sdro:se (Strasse))

c) nouns which add (er) to the singular to form the plural.
   1. nouns with (er) and no root change (ex: sing. nesd, plur. nesder (Nest))
   2. nouns with (er) and with a root change (ex: sing. haus, plur. haiser (Haus))

II. a) The personal pronouns of PaG are similar to all of those of Southwestern Germany. The only exception is the feminine dative singular (i:r) of the Western Palatinate which differs from the (i:re) of PaG and the other dialects of Southwestern Germany. (See Table IIa, p.45)

b) The interrogative pronouns of PaG agree with all of those of Southwestern Germany. (See Table IIb, p.45)

c) The demonstrative pronouns of PaG also agree with those of Southwestern Germany. (See Table IIc, p.45)

d) The possessive pronouns of PaG generally agree with those of Southwestern Germany. (See Table IId, p.45)

III. a) The indefinite articles of PaG agree with those of Southwestern Germany with one exception. The Western Palatine feminine dative singular (er) again differs from the (ere) of other Southwestern German dialects and PaG. (See Table IIIa, p.46)

b) The definite articles of PaG agree most closely with those of the Western Palatine dialect. The masculine nominative and accusative are identical in these dialects while they have two distinct forms in EP. (See Table IIIb, p.46)

IV. The declension system for adjectives in PaG corresponds exactly to that used throughout the Palatinate, Alsace, and the Moselle region. Slight variations occur in the declension systems of Switzerland and West Baden, again illustrating the dominance of Palatine features in PaG. (See Table IV, p.46)

V. The verb system of PaG agrees with that of Southwestern German dialects on the following points:

a) The present tense verb endings are identical, beginning with no "e" in the first person. (See Table Va, p.47)

b) In both PaG and EP, the verb "hawe" (haben) is conjugated in an irregular fashion. (See Table Vb, p.47)

c) The infinitive verb ending is "e". (See Table Vc, p.47)

d) Past participles of verbs end in either "e" or "d". (See Table Vc, p.47) 49

One morphological feature of PaG which has been studied by Lester W. Seifert of the University of Wisconsin is its extensive system of diminutives. In addition to the obvious adjectival method used to express smallness and/or endearment, namely by using PaG "gle:n" (klein) with a noun, there are an unusually high number of diminutive suffixes. These comprise the following singular and plural endings scattered throughout the Pennsylvania German region: li, lin, eli, elin, əl, xə, xər, əlxə, əlxər, lix, lixər (See Table VIa, p.48). According to Seifert, the nouns to which these endings are attached may or may not

(see page 49)

Table I - The phonemic structure of the Pennsylvania German dialect:

A. Phonemic Structure

The following table is designed to illustrate the phonemes of Pennsylvania German[1] according to the general phonetic description of their principal allophones:[2]

Vowels:	front (unrounded)		central (unrounded)		back (rounded)	
high	i:	i			u:	u
mid	e:	e			o:	o
low			a		a:	
diphthongs			ai	au		oi

Consonants:	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	palato-velar[3]	velar
sonorants					
nasals	m		n		ŋ
liquid			l		
fricatives					
voiced	w		r	j	(r)[4]
unvoiced		f	s, š	x	h[4]
stops					
strong (unvoiced)	p		t	k	
weak (voiced)	b		d	g	
assibilates			c, č		

Reed/ Seifert p.20

Table Ia) - Reed and Seifert's phonemic structure of PaG according to the International Phonetic Alphabet:

Vowels:	front (unrounded)		central (unrounded)		back (rounded)	
high	ij	I			uj	u
mid	ej	ɛ			aj	a
low			ɑɐ		oj	o
diphthongs			aI	au		ɔI

consonants:	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	palato-velar	velar
sonorants:					
nasals	m		n		ŋ
liquids			l		
fricatives					
voiced	w		r	j	(r)
unvoiced		f	s, ʃ	x	h
stops					
strong	p		t	k	
weak	b		d	g	
assibilates			ts, tʃ		

Table II - Morphological features of Pennsylvania German pronouns generally shared by all of S.W. Germany:

a) 1. THE DECLENSION OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS:

(1st Person)

	Nominative	*Accusative*	*Dative*	*Reflexive*
Sing.	ix	mix	mi:r/mer	mix, mi:r/mer
Pl.	mi:r/mer	uns	uns	uns

(2nd Person)

Sing.	du:	dix	di:r/der	dix, di:r/der
Pl.	di:r/der, i:r/er	aix	aix	aix

(3rd Person)

Sing.	ar/er "he"	i:n/en	i:m/em	six	Reed/Seifert
	si: "she"	si:	i:re/ere	six	
	es/s "it"	es/s	i:m/em	six	pp.48-49
Pl.	si:	~~si:~~	i:ne/ene	six	

b) 6. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Common Case	*Dative Case*
wer/war "who"	wem
was "what" (indeclinable)	

Examples: [war ti:čd in aire šu:l] "who teaches in your school?"
[war hošd du: gse:ne] "whom did you see?"
[wem hod er sai gaul gewe] "to whom did he give his horse?"
[wem is des haus] "whose house is this?/whose is this house?"
[was hošd du: gese] "what did you eat?"

c) 4. DECLENSION OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	Nominative	*Accusative*	*Dative*
Masculine:	der/dar "this"	den/der/dar	dem
Feminine:	di:	di:	dere/dare
Neuter:	des	des	dem
Plural:	di: "these"	di:	dene

	Common Case	*Dative Case*
Masculine:	seler "that"	selem/sem
Feminine:	seli	selre/seler
Neuter:	sel	selem/sem
Plural:	seli "those"	sele

d) 3. THE DECLENSION OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

	Common Case	*Dative Case*
Masculine:	mai "my"	maim
Feminine:	mai	mainere/mainre
Neuter:	mai	maim
Plural:	mai	maine
Masculine:	unser "our"	unserem/unserm
Feminine:	unser	unsere/unsre
Neuter:	unser	unserem/unserm
Plural:	unser	unsere/unsre
Masculine:	i:re "her, their"	i:rem
Feminine:	i:re	i:re
Neuter:	i:re	i:rem
Plural:	i:re	i:re

Reed/Seifertp.50

Table III - Indefinite and definite articles of PaG generally shared by all of S.W.Germany:

a)

2. THE DECLENSION OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE[11]

	Common Case	*Dative Case*
Masculine:	en/e[11] "an, a"	ene/me
Feminine:	en/e	ere/re
Neuter:	en/e	ene/me

b)

5. DECLENSION OF THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

	Common Case	*Dative Case*
Masculine:	der/dr	(d)em
Feminine:	di/d	der/dr
Neuter:	es/s	(d)em
Plural:	di/d	de

Reed/ Seifert p.50

Table IV - Morphological features of PaG adjectives generally shared by all og S.W. Germany:

(1) The Strong Declension (adjective stands alone, preceded by no demonstrative or possessive pronoun):

	Common Case	*Dative Case*
Masculine:	šdarij*er* gnowlix	si:s*e* ra:m
Feminine:	saur*i* milix	saur*e* milix
Neuter:	šlexd_ weder	šlexd*e* weder
Plural:	gle:n*i* šdube	gle:n*e* kiner

(2) The Weak Declension (adjective is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun or definite article):

	Common Case	*Dative Case*
Masculine:	der ewed_ šdog	em aršd*e* šdog
Feminine:	di: ald_ mar	der naie karix
Neuter:	es nai_ haus	em naie haus
Plural:	di: ald*e* mare	de jun*e* hingel

Reed/ Seifert p.47

If the adjective is preceded by the indefinite article or a possessive pronoun, it is strong in the Common Case and weak in the Dative Case.

Table V - Morphological features of PaG verbs generally shared by all of S.W. Germany:

a)

	Singular	*Plural*	
1st pers.	...	-e	Reed/
2nd pers.	-šd	-d	Seifert p.54
3rd pers.	-d	-e	

b)

— (7) hawe "have"

	Present Indicative	*Past Indicative*	*Imperative*	*Subjunctive*	
sg.	1. ix hab	hab ghad[18]		hed	
	2. du: hošd	hošd ghad	. . .	hedšd	
	3. ar hod	hod ghad		hed	
pl.	1. mi:r hen	hen ghad		hede	Reed/
	2. (d)i:r hed	hed ghad	. . .	hed	Seifert p.55
	3. si: hen	hen ghad		hede	

c)

(1) kume "come"

	Present Indicative	*Past Indicative*	*Imperative*	*Subjunctive*
sg.	1. ix kum	bin kume		ke:md
	2. du: kumšd	bišd kume	kum	ke:mdšd
	3. ar kumd	is kume		ke:md
pl.	1. mi:r kume	sin kume		ke:mde
	2. (d)i:r kumd	said kume	kumd	ke:md
	3. si: kume	sin kume		ke:mde

(2) ge:ŋ "go"

	Present Indicative	*Past Indicative*	*Imperative*	*Subjunctive*
sg.	1. ix ge:	bin gaŋe		giŋgd
	2. du: ge:šd	bišd gaŋe	ge:	giŋgšd
	3. ar ge:d	is gaŋe		giŋgd
pl.	1. mi:r ge:ne	sin gaŋe		giŋgde
	2. (d)i:r ge:d	said gaŋe	ge:d	giŋgd
	3. si: ge:ne	sin gaŋe		giŋgde

(3) se:ne "see"

	Present Indicative	*Past Indicative*	*Imperative*	*Subjunctive*
sg.	1. ix se:n	hab gse:ne		de:d se:ne
	2. du: se:nšd	hošd gse:ne	se:n	de:dšd se:ne
	3. ar se:nd	hod gse:ne		de:d se:ne
pl.	1. mi:r se:ne	hen gse:ne		de:de se:ne
	2. (d)i:r se:nd	hed gse:ne	se:nd	de:d se:ne
	3. si: se:ne	hen gse:ne		de:de se:ne

Reed/
Seifert p.54

Table VI - Diminutive endings used throughout Pennsylvania German regions:

a)

The Pennsylvania German Diminutive Suffixes by Type and Functional Status

Type		Active Suffixes *Singular*	Active Suffixes *Plural*	Inactive Suffixes *Singular*	Inactive Suffixes *Plural*
I. *-l-* Suffixes	1.	*-li*	*-lin*		*-li*
	2	*-əli*	*-əlin*		
	3.	*-əl*			*-əl*
	4.			*-lə*	*-lə*
	5.				*-lən*
	6.				*-ələ*
II. *-x-* Suffix	7.	*-xə*	*-xər*		
III. Compound Suffixes	8.	*-əlxə*	*-əlxər*		
	9.	*-lixə*	*-lixər*		
IV. *-i* Suffix	10.			*-i*	

Seifert p.287

b)

The Regional Distribution of the Pennsylvania German Active Diminutive Suffixes

LEHIGH		BERKS		LANCASTER		SUSQUEHANNA	
Singular	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Plural*
		-li	*-lin*	*-li*	*-lin*	*-li*	*-iin*
				-əli	*-əlin*		
-əl		*-əl*				*-əl*	
-xə	*-xər*	*-xə*	*-xər*			*-xə*	*-xər*
-əlxə	*-əlxər*					*-əlxə*	*-əlxər*
	-lixər	*-lixə*	*-lixər*				*-lixər*

Seifert p.288

undergo a change in the word stem; when they do change, it most commonly involves umlauting a vowel in the root. For example, "di Bob" (die Puppe) retains the stem vowel "o" and becomes "əs bobli" (das Babi); but "dər fogel" (der Vogel) becomes "dəs fegli" (das Vöglein").[50]

Seifert points out that all suffixes in PaG, except two, occur in the dialects of Southwestern Germany and Northern Switzerland, but not all of them are to be found in any one German or Swiss dialect. The "li, lin, əli, əlin" endings are primarily found in South Baden and Switzerland. "əl" and "əlxər" stem from the Eastern and Southern Palatinate, while "əx, xər, əlxə" come from the Western and Northern Palatinate. The endings "lixə" and "lixər" are strictly Pennsylvania German, however[51] (See Table VIb, p.48). Lester Seifert's evidence, added to Otto Springer's research on hypercorrect forms, serves to illustrate the various linguistic influences on the Pennsylvania German dialect. Not only the Franconian dialects of the Palatine region, but also the Alemannic dialects of Baden, Württemberg, and Switzerland have been instrumental in its development.

Two other morphological features of the PaG specifically related to Alemannic dialects must be mentioned. First of all, PaG speakers replace the second person plural "ihr" with either "iə" or "diə". Secondly, in the second person singular of the verbs "sele" (sollen) and "wele" (wollen), the "l" becomes a dental, either "d" or

"t". For example, "ich will, du willst, er will" becomes "ix wil, du wid, ar wil".[52]

Clearly, Pennsylvania German shares much with the dialects in the Eastern and Western Palatinate, Swabia, and Switzerland spoken today by people who share their forefathers with the German speaking Americans of Pennsylvania. While these dialects have continued to adapt to their European environments after the "birth" of Pennsylvania German in 1683, this latter dialect has steadily developed individual characteristics of its own. What are the linguistic features which render this dialect unique?

Beginning again with phonology, let us examine those characteristics which are only present in the Pennsylvania German dialect:

1. The standard German high vowels "i", "u", and "ü", and the mid vowels "e", "o", and "ö" are reduced to the short "a" sound when followed by an "r".

ex:

Standard German (SG)	PaG
Kirche	Karich
durch	darich
Bürste	Barscht
Berg	Barik
Morgen	Marije

As Albert Buffington points out in his linguistic description of PaG, these same high and mid-vowels are reduced to "e" in the dialects of the Rhine Palatinate, but in no other dialect aside from PaG are they reduced to "a".[53]

2. The consonant "r" disappears when it follows short "a" and is in turn followed by a dental (d,t,l,n,r,s,sch,ds).

ex: SG	PaG
dort	dat
kurz	kads

According to Buffington, the "r" has been replaced in Palatine dialects by a neutral sound, but it has not totally disappeared as it has in PaG.

3. An additional vowel is placed between an "r" or an "l" and a labial or velar sound (b,ch,g,j,k,m,p, or w).

ex: SG	PaG
Lerche	Larrich
Orgel	Arrigel
Kalk	Kallik
Korb	Karep
Wurm	Warem

Gertrude Dürr's study of PaG emphasizes that this characteristic also exists in Palatine dialects, but points out that it is much more developed in PaG.[54]

4. The English ending "ing" often replaces the German "ung".

ex: SG	PaG
Erfahrung	Erfaahring

5. An "e" or an "a" is added to assimilated English verbs lacking a vowel in final position.

ex: SG	PaG
Wir pflügen die Felder	Mr "plue" de Felder
stehen	schtende

6. The following consonant changes occur in PaG:

SG	PaG	SG	PaG
z	s	Holz	Hols

SG	PaG	SG	PaG
t	d	Tod	Dod
p	b	plaudern	blaudere
k	g	krumm	grumm
b	w	Gabel	Gawwel

7. Occasional combinations of foreign words result in unique PaG terminology. Perhaps the best known dessert in the Pennsylvania German region is "shoofly pie". Its name comes from the French "chou-fleur" and American "pie". Together as "shoofly-pie", these words describe a molasses pie sprinkled with brown sugar, which results in a resemblance to a cauliflower.[55]

In addition to unique phonological features, PaG is made up of some morphological characteristics which are not found in other German dialects. The following three morphological features belong only to the Pennsylvania German dialect:

1. In PaG, the standard High German article is often replaced by another.

ex:

SG	PaG
die Luft	der Luft
die Tinte	der Dinde
die Geiß	der Geess
die Ecke	des Eg

In addition to the above article changes, some English loan words in PaG are used with all three genders. "Buggi" is such a word which is used alternately with "der, die, des".[56]

2. When the plural of nouns is not formed according to standard High German rules of grammar or Franconian or Alemannic dialectical patterns, PaG uses two methods to pluralize:

   a) the end syllable is left off:

   ex:

SG	PaG
die Sünden	die Sind'

   b) an English "s" is added, especially in the case of English loan words in PaG:

   ex:

SG	PaG
corners	Korners
stories	Shtories

3. The standard High German relative pronouns "wo, wer, was" assume a totally different form in PaG, namely "as". Carroll Reed in his morphological study of PaG maintains that "as" is a dialect form which is also found in Alsace; Gertrude Dürr and Albert Buffington, however, argue that "as" is unique to the Pennsylvania German community.

In addition to studies of PaG phonology and morphology, Carroll Reed has also studied the syntax of the dialect with regard to aspect in PaG verbs. Reed has ascertained that there are only two tenses, present and past; the future tense is formed by adding modifying adverbs such as "soon" and "tomorrow" to present forms of the verb.[57] Within the present tense, Reed distinguishes three general forms:

1. The simple present.

   ex:

English	PaG
He mows the grass	Ar me:d s Gra:s

2. The use of the auxiliary verb "du:" (tun) to indicate frequently repeated actions.

ex: English	PaG
He mows the grass	Ar du:d s gra:s me:a

3. The progressive tense modelled after English to indicate continued action.

ex: English	PaG
He is mowing the grass	Ar is am gra:s me:a

The past tense in the Pennsylvania German dialect consists of four forms:

1. The simple past.

ex: English	PaG
He mowed the grass	Ar hod s gra:s geme:d

2. The simple past progressive.

ex: English	PaG
He was mowing the grass	Ar wa:r am gra:s me:a

3. The pluperfect.

ex: English	PaG
He had mowed the grass	Ar hod s gra:s geme:d ghad

4. The use of the adverb "als" to indicate continued and repeated action in the past.

ex: English	PaG
He mowed the grass again and again	Ar had s gra:s als geme:d

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In addition to creating a new progressive tense in Pennsylvania German, English has also left its mark on other aspects of Pennsylvania German syntax. Direct translation of English expressions and vocabulary into

this dialect have added a whole new dimension to its development. The following is a list of expressions common to daily life in Southeastern Pennsylvania which has been compiled by Gertrude Dürr in her study of the Pennsylvania German dialect. The influence of English on German syntax is self-evident in these five idioms:

PaG	English	SG
1. Sell iss uff zu dir	That's up to you	Es kommt auf dich an
2. Uff Zeit kumme	to be on time	rechtzeitig kommen
3. Sei Bruder iss gut ab	His brother is well off	vermögend
4. Fer all sell	For all that	trotz alledem
5. Wie bischd?	How are you?	Wie geht es dir? 59

All of the linguistic features listed that belong only to Pennsylvania German establish the autonomy of this dialect in relation to other German dialects. However, the studies which have contributed to the linguistic description of Pennsylvania German in this chapter, with the exception of that made by Gertrude Dürr, were all made approximately thirty years ago. How accurate are they in describing the German which is spoken in Southeastern Pennsylvania today, in 1977? The article written by Der Shdivvel Knecht on pages 57 and 58 offers many examples of phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary unique to the Pennsylvania German dialect. It is an article taken

from the April 20, 1977 edition of the Town and Country newspaper, which serves the upper Perkiomen River valley in the counties of Berks, Lehigh, and Montgomery (see map, p. 29). Like other weekly installments by the same author, this one is written in the German dialect of the region. It supports the linguistic studies of Pennsylvania German by Albert Buffington (1939), Gertrude Dürr (1975), and Carroll Reed together with Lester Seifert (1940-41) as exemplified by the following forms:

1. Beginning with PaG phonology, the first feature unique to PaG is the reduction of the vowels "i,u ü,e,o,ö" to "a" before an "r". In Der Shdivvel Knecht's article, PaG dart (line 32 - SG dort) and PaG Neh-Karreb (l. 122- SG Nähkorb) offer examples of this vowel change.

2. The second feature is the disappearance of "r" when it occurs after short "a" and is followed by a dental (d,t,l,h,r,s,sch,ds). PaG sotta (l.11 - SG Sorte) illustrates this linguistic feature.

3. An additional vowel is placed between "r" or "l" and a labial or velar (b,ch,g,j,k,m,p,w). This occurs in PaG node-wennich (l.9 - SG notwendig), PaG arrick (l.82 - SG arg), and PaG Neh-Karreb (l.122 - SG Nähkorb).

4. The English ending "ing" is found in the PaG word Parshing (l.31-32 - SG Pfirsich).

5. The assimilated English verbs of Der Shdivvel Knecht's article take on an "a" rather than an "e", which can be explained by a lack of standard orthography together with regional variations in PaG. The following provide examples of such verbs: PaG sharrifa (l.37 - English, to sharpen) and PaG "improvisa" (l.112 - English, to improvise).

(see p. 59)

TOWN AND COUNTRY
SERVING THE UPPER PERKIOMEN VALLEY
Section, 28 Pages PENNSBURG, PA.—WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1977 SINGLE COPY FIFTEEN CENTS

Liewa Freind:

Ich wunner wie ufft os dee Betz mich shun g'froagt hut, "Husht dei Sock Messer im Sock?" Won see ebbes uff-tzu-macha hut froagt see mich fer mei Sock Messer, un ich hob's ge-wainlich bei mier. Sell is ebbes os ich so about alfert drawg. Tzu mier is mei Sock Messer grawt so node-wennich os wie a-bissel Gelt un der Shlissel fer in's Hous.

Es hut feel sotta Sock Mess'ra — dale henn yusht ae Gling, owwer dee menshta henn tzwea odder drei Gling. Dale sin yusht glae un onn'ra sin shwear un gross. Bei Law, darffa see kenn Gling howwa os tzu long is. Ich wase noch os mier Boova alls Sock Mess'ra g'shwoppt henn, unna-g'sehna. M'r hut owwer es ous-k'holta os es Messer anicher ae Gling howwa hut missa. M'r hut ge-wainlich nat gute ous-ge-macht sella awag. M'r hut aw kenn gutes gewwa!

Ichglawb os yeader Boy Scout en Sock Messer hut, os onn'ra sacha draw henn os wie en regular Gling. Wos is don handicher won m'r g'shwind en Obbel, odder'n Reeb, essa will os wie's Sock Messer. M'r k'hon aw Grum-berra un Beara un Parshing sheala dart mitt. — Langer tzuprick is boll alla Blei Pensil g'shpitzt werra mitt'm Sock Messer. Wie ich in mee Shule gonga binn wor noch kenn Machine dart fer dee Pensil sharrifa; won mier Boove kenn Messer k'hot henn, hut der Shule-meashter's ewwa ge-duh fer em. Alla Messer sutt sharrif sei.

Langer tzu-rick hut m'r alls feel Mons-leit sehna arriets hucka, om Shnitzla; fer-leicht uff der Shtoreborch, odder de-hame unnich'ma Shodda Bawm, worra guta bletz fer en Shnitzler sehna. Dale henn arria sheana sacha rous shneida kenna, so os wie Hund odder Feggel. Dale henn Leit g'shnitz'lt, odder fer-leicht en Kett, wuh dee Gleach all ous'm sehma shtick Huls g'shnidda worra,

See henn alls fer-tzealt es wearra so Tzelter ge-wesst, on da Fair, wuh see dee Leit Fimf Cent ge-chargt henn fer larna Shnitzla. Won ebber nei kumma wear, hett ge-wainlich en Weibs-mensch dart k'huckt un wear om Shnitzla ge-wesst, un hett g'sawt "Won ehr Shnitzlt, shneidt alfert fon eich weck, noh shneid ehr eich nat." Fer-leicht wor sell Fimf Cent werdt!

Won so yunga Boova a-wennich Shlitz-ohrich worra, hut alse-mole ebber's Sock Messer rous grickt, un hut g'sawt er date'na dee Ohrra ob-shneida won see nat shmart wearra; sell hut see ge-wainlich uff-bossa macha! Es is aw alls feel Shpeel-sach ge-macht werra mitt'm Sock Messer. Wie feel Fish Gartta sinn g'shnidda werra mitt so'ma Messer? En monnicher Shtuck werrt, heit noch, g'shnidda mitt'm Sock Messer, boddich won m'r arriets rumm lawft wuh's Shlonga hut. Won m'r ebbes g'shwish-ich da tzea hut, grickt m'r ewwa es Sock Messer rous un shneid en "Tooth-pick".

Ich gleich alfert won mei Messer drei Gling hut, noh howwich aens fon da gleana Gling arrick shpitz-ich, fer Shlivvera rous bohrra. Ich hob shun monnichie Shlivver ous meina aegna Hend, un aw ous onn'ra ehrra Hend, ge-numma mitt mei'm Sock Messer. (Ich hett sell owwer fer-leicht nat aswga sulla; ich hob kenn Duckder's License.) Feel Monns-leit, un aw dale Weibsleit shneida ehrra Finger-neggel un Tzaea-neggel ob, mitt'm Sock Messer.

Ich waes langer tzu-rick sinn alse-mole dee Kee in's Welsh-kern Feld ge-brucha, un henn tzu feel noss, gree Welsh-kern g'fressa. Noh hut's alls k'heasa see wearra "Dick werra" un won's Gas nat rous k'heamt, deata see "Fer-shpringa". Won en Geil's Duckder in tzeit kumma is, hut er en beddich Messer k'hot fer see shtecha. Sell is gepduh werra about Sech Tzull fer da Hifft. En monnicher Bowwer hut sell selwert duh missa, mitt'm Sock Messer, odder dee Kuh wear dode gonga. Ich hob's nee nat duh breicha, owwer der Fee Duckder hut's mier mole ous-ge-leagt wie's tzu duh.

De Anglisha deata sawga m'r date ufft ebbes "Improvisa" mitt'm Sock Messer. M'r uh'st fer'n Shrowva-tzieger, odder fer'n Hommer, odder fer'n Kann-opener. M'r shneid fer-leicht Drode ob, odder krotzt Rusht arriets ob. M'r uh'st fer Lecher in Ledder odder Huls bohrra. Won arriets Shtrow odder Gross nei ge-wick'lt is; dart kummt's Sock Messer. Dale Weibs-leit henn so gleana Sock Mess'ra im Neh-karreb.

Now sell is ge-nunk fon sellem; drawm't nat fon Sock wmess'ra, odder ehr shneid eich im shloof!

Der Shdivvel Knecht
fon Seisholtzville
4-20-77

6. All of the consonant changes described in Dürr's study of PaG are present throughout this article:

	SG	PaG		SG	PaG
a)	z	s	d)	p	b
	Holz	huls (1.118)		Platz	bletz (1.45)
	zwischen	g'shwish-ich (1.77)		Apfel	Obbel (1.29)
b)	t	d	e)	k	g
	Tod	dode (1.106)		klein	glae (1.82)
	träumt	drawm't (1.124)		Klinge	Gling (1.12)
c)	d	t	f)	b	w
	gerade	grawt (1.8)		Liebe	Liewa (greeting)
				aber	owwer (1.12)
				Schraubenzieher =	
				Shrowvatzieger(1.113)	

The three morphological features unique to the Pennsylvania German dialect are also apparent in Der Shdivvel Knecht's article:

1. The genders of nouns in PaG do not always correspond to those of Standard High German, as in the case of PaG en Kett (1.50 - SG die Kette).

2. The pluralization of nouns repeatedly follows uniquely PaG patterns: PaG Hend (1.85 - SG die Hände, dative plural, den Händen), and PaG Speelsach (1.69-70 - SG Spielsachen). Following the English pattern, an "s" is added to form the plural also: PaG Monnsleit (1.89-90 - SG Männer - English, Menfolk), and Weibsleit (l. 121 - SG Frauen- English, Women). In the irregular examples of Monnsleit and Weibsleit, the English "s" is added between the two German word roots rather than at the end of the word.

3. The PaG relative pronoun "as" occurs regularly in this article, spelled "os" by the author (ll. 1,7,9,16 etc..).

With regard to English syntax and vocabulary, many instances of English influence are evident in Der Shdivvel Knecht's article. PaG in tzeit (1.100) has been taken from the English "in time"; PaG fer larna (1.55) and PaG om Shnitzla ge-wesst (1.58) illustrate the progressive tenses present in the Pennsylvania German dialect modelled after English forms as studied by Carroll Reed.[61] PaG Bei Law (1.15 - SG Dem Gesetz nach) shows English influence on both the syntax and vocabulary of this idiom. Finally, the following are some of the PaG words in this article which directly reflect the American speech surrounding the speakers of Pennsylvania German: regular (1.27), gechargt (1.54), Shlivver (1.84), Duckder's License (1.89), Kann-opener (1.115), geschwoppt (1.18), ich wunner (1.1), hand-icher (1.28), Pensil (1.33), sehma (1.51), Fair (1.53).

Paul Schach of North Central College has studied another linguistic feature of Pennsylvania German, the formation of hybrid compounds and hybrid derivatives. Such forms are made by the joining together of prefixes and suffixes with word roots from either Pennsylvania German or English. The formation of hybrid derivatives is a common occurrence with languages in such close proximity to each other, as is the case with English and the linguistic island of Pennsylvania German. Consequently, this latter dialect has developed quite a complex system of these hybrid derivatives. According to Schach, these hybrid words may be divided into two main groups: primary

derivatives consist of a PaG affix and an English stem, and secondary hybrid derivatives made of English affixes and PaG stems.[62]

There are very few secondary hybrid derivatives in Pennsylvania German. Schach gives only five examples, all with the prefix "re", which include "riemache" ("to remake"), "rielaade" ("to reload"), and "riewesche" ("to rewash"). However, the list of primary derivatives is very extensive. The following chart illustrates the major German prefixes which are added to English loan words in PaG to form new words:

1. Primary Hybrid Prefixes:

	PaG Prefix	Hybrid derivative	English
a)	ge-, k-	Gekick	continued kicking
		Gepeddel	continued peddling
b)	uff-	Uffrohr	uproar

2. Primary Hybrid Suffixes:

	PaG Suffix	Hybrid derivative	English
a)	-ei	Badderei	bother
		Äkderei	pretending
b)	-es	Rummfuules	fooling around
		Backes	baking
c)	-n	Meeschdern	Mistress
	Die...n	die Äpnern	Mrs. Abner
d)	-sel	Fillsel	sausage meat (filling)
e)	-ig+keit	Niedigkeit	neatness
		Raubachdigkeit	robustness
f)	-weis	trockweis	by truck
		buschelweis	by the bushel

Primary Hybrid Suffixes (con't):

	PaG Suffix	Hybrid derivative	English
g)	-ig	glumschig	clumsy
	(the largest group)	pickig	picky
		schniekig	sneaky
		tschumpig	jumpy 63

Paul Schach emphasizes that the largest group of primary hybrid derivatives in Pennsylvania German consists of verbs. There is only one inseparable prefix, namely "var" which, like its German equivalent "ver", often carries a negative connotation. "Varbatsche" ("to botch") and "varschmoddere" ("to smother") provide examples of the "var" prefix added to an English loan verb. The list of separable prefixes follows; it contains the thirteen most common prefixes in both Standard German and Pennsylvania German:

3. Primary Hybrid Verb Prefixes:

	SG Prefix	PaG Prefix	PaG	English
a)	ab-	ab-	abfense	to fence off
b)	an-	oo-	oofidde	to fit on
c)	auf-	uff-	uffdresse	to dress up
d)	aus-	aus-	ausbacke	to back out
e)	durch-	darrich-	darrich-pusche	to push through
f)	ein-	ei-	eifense	to fence in
g)	her-	har	harkookse	to coax to the speaker
h)	hin-	hie-	hiekicke	to give a kick
i)	hinauf-	nuff-	nuffpusche	to push up
j)	hinaus-	naus-	nausforse	to force out

Primary Hybrid Verb Prefixes (con't):

	SG Prefix	PaG Prefix	PaG	English
k)	hinunter-	nunner-	nunnerpusche	to push down
l)	heraus-	raus-	rauskraude	to crowd out
m)	zusammen-	zamme-	zammefidde	to fit together 64

In Der Shdivvel Knecht's article, there are many examples of PaG separable verbs, such as "uff-tzu-macha" (1.4) and "ous-ge-macht" (1.22). Few hybrid derivatives have been used by the author, however; "uff-bossa" (1.68 - English ?) can be considered a primary hybrid derivative as well as perhaps "rous bohrra" (1.83 - English,"to bore out"). The latter verb could either be a German dialect version of "bohren", or the English loan verb "to bore out", in which case it would qualify as a primary hybrid derivative. Between the obvious English loan words, such as "regular" (1.27) and "improvisa (1.112), and the primary hybrid derivatives, Der Shdivvel Knecht supports Albert Buffington's conclusion that approximately 7% of the vocabulary of PaG is made up of English loan words (see p.33).

Naturally, linguistic influence has worked both ways in the case of Pennsylvania Germans: English has decidedly affected their German dialect as exemplified by its English loan words, syntax, and hybrid derivatives and, conversely, their Pennsylvania German has modified the syntax and vocabulary of the English they speak. In a study made in 1948 in remote Snyder County (see map, p.29) by Arthur Wilson,

many expressions unique to the "Dutch" farmers are listed. Wilson includes the following expressions which surely will amuse the reader:

1. "All" used as an adverb:

   ex: His off is fresh all. (His vacation has just finished.)

2. "It" used impersonally:

   ex: It wonders me....(I wonder...)

3. "Not" as an interrogative:

   ex: This is enough, not? (This is enough, isn't it?)

4. Reflexive usages are sometimes used incorrectly:

   ex: I thanked myself. (I thanked soandso.)

One of Wilson's most amusing examples follows:

> "If you enter into conversation with a farmer, he is likely to keep nodding his head while you are talking to him and to keep repeating adverbially, "Yes, well -, yes, well-, yes, well-..."

As Wilson goes on to explain, "yes,well-" is none other than a literal translation of Standard German "jawohl" and PaG "jawell"![65]

In addition to altering English syntax, PaG has contributed certain words to the English vocabulary of Southeastern Pennsylvania and other regions which have contact with German speaking groups. These German words reflect in particular the intimate farm and home life characterized by the Pennsylvania German dialect. These words

include animal calls such as "vootsie!" for pigs, "hommie!" for calves, and "bee!" for chickens. "Smearcase" (SG Schmierkäse - English,"cottage cheese") has been noted in English speech in Ohio and Virginia close to other PaG speaking groups, and is used extensively throughout Pennsylvania. "Toot" (SG "Tüte" - English, "paper bag") is found throughout Southeastern Pennsylvania and in North Carolina in close proximity to its German speaking communities.[66]

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, many different nations have contributed to the growth and development of the United States. At the same time that their people added to the American population, their many traditions as well as languages were thrown into the American melting pot. The PaG dialect has clearly left its mark on the language which surrounds it, as witnessed by the presence of such words as "smearcase" and "toot". However, other unmistakeable German constructions are used by all Americans. Arthur Wilson includes two such expressions in his study:

1. The farmers of Snyder County use "say" idiomatically.
   ex: Say, what happened yesterday? PaG Saag mol...

2. Want out/ want in.
   ex: The dog wants in. PaG Der Hund will rei.[67]

In conclusion, this chapter has attempted to show that the Pennsylvania German dialect is an autonomous dialect, separate from its Southwestern German and Swiss cousins.

And, it is far from being a degenerate version of English. Since its initiation in 1683, it has incorporated the phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of both Franconian and Alemannic dialects, while most closely representing those of the Eastern Palatinate. Furthermore, it has added to, and continues to supplement, its vocabulary with English words and hybrid derivatives. The English elements in Pennsylvania German reflect its adaptability to its environment and have insured its survival up to the present day. However, the question of its survival remains. How long will the Pennsylvania German dialect remain alive as its native communities are more and more encroached upon by the technology of the English speaking world?

CHAPTER V

The Lack of Standardization of the Pennsylvania German Dialect.

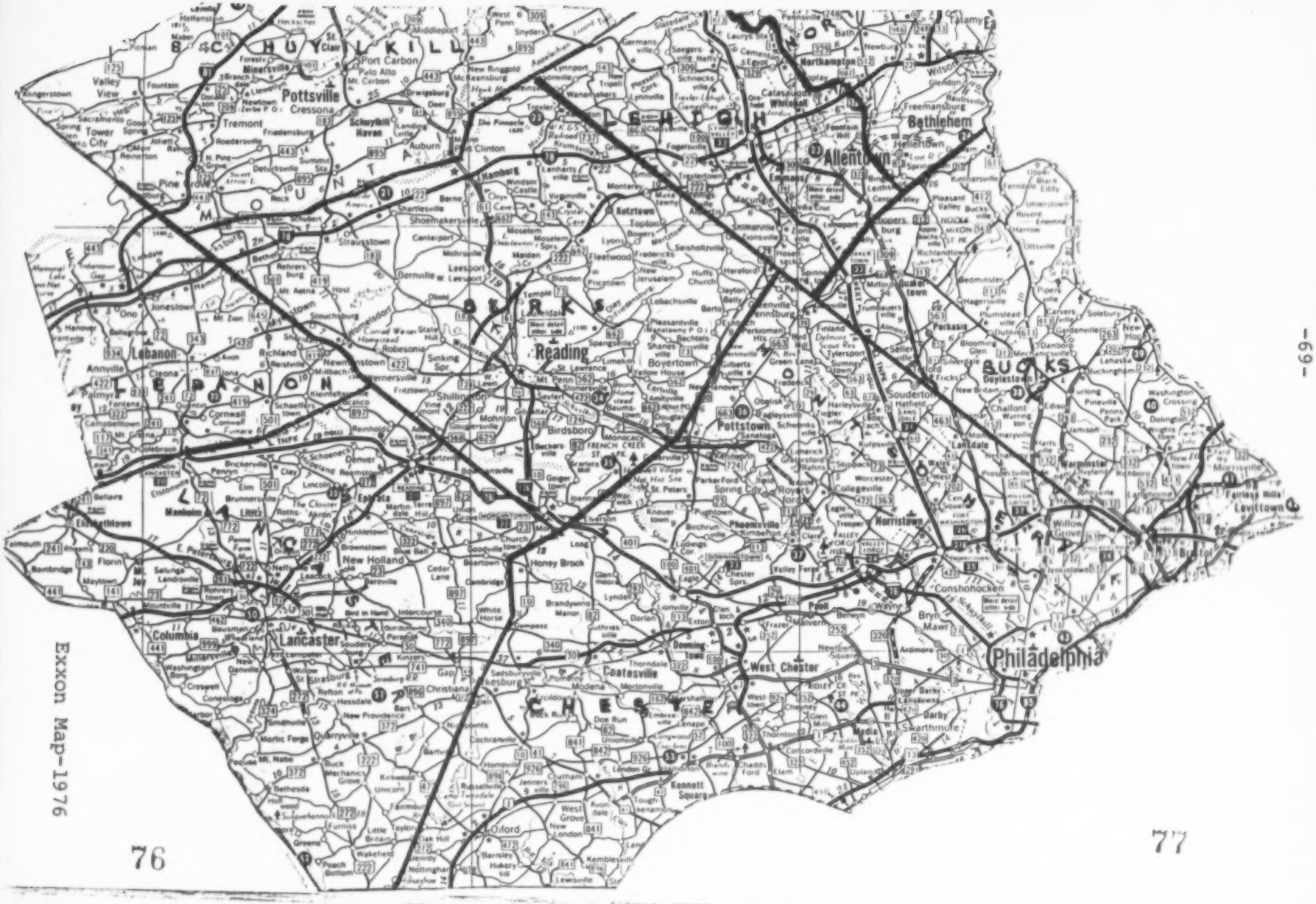
The Pennsylvania German dialect to this day uses no one universal system of orthography. Two major factors have contributed to this lack of standardization. First, the dialect has evolved from several German and Swiss dialects as described in chapters three and four, and added to this synthesis its own regional variations. Secondly, and most importantly, standard High German remained the official language of business, Church, and school for the Pennsylvania Germans of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These were the decades which also witnessed the development of the Pennsylvania German dialect. It had no need for standardization, as all documents, Bibles, and newspaper articles as well as literature could rely on High German for their orthography, while the dialect was reserved for casual use.

Clearly the complex background of the Pennsylvania German dialect has hindered any attempt at standardization. Its European roots cover a wide geographical area, from the Northern Rhine regions into Switzerland. Furthermore, these dialectical features have been influenced in America both by the English language and the standard High German spoken by the clergy and the teachers in Pennsylvania. The need for standardization is evident. However, other factors in addition to the complexity of the background

of this dialect have interferred with standardization: added to the background elements of the Pennsylvania German dialect are the regional variants of this dialect which were allowed to develop during the first one hundred years of its existence.

Lester Seifert, Carroll Reed, and Albert Buffington have taken particular interest in the linguistic and lexical variations in Pennsylvania German. As a result of their field studies in the 1940's, they have been able to break down the area in which Pennsylvania German is spoken into four overlapping regions of varying dialectical features. They interviewed a total of 158 informants of all ages before they were able to define these four areas as follows: the first region comprises Lancaster County, the second Lehigh County, and the third and fourth subdivide Berks County into the Berks-Lehigh and the Berks-Lancaster areas (see map, p.69).[68]

Dialect features unique to these areas logically reflect their settlement patterns prior to the American Revolution. For example, Alemannic features are present in Lancaster County, which was predominantly settled by Swiss Mennonites. Lester Seifert and Carroll Reed found that in Lancaster County PaG "der Kiwwel" (SG "der Kübel") is used, whereas PaG "der Eemer" is the accepted form in the other areas.[69] Albert Buffington in his study made in 1949 concludes, however, that despite these dialectical differences within Pennsylvania German which have been


SCHUYLKILL
Pottsville
Cressona
Port Carbon
Mt. Carbon
Minersville
Schuylkill Haven
Tremont
Pine Grove
Lebanon
LEBANON
Reading
BERKS
Birdsboro
Kutztown
Fleetwood
Boyertown
Pottstown
Phoenixville
Norristown
Conshohocken
Bethlehem
Allentown
NORTHAMPTON
BUCKS
Doylestown
Souderton
Lansdale
Warminster
Levittown
Philadelphia
Bristol
Lancaster
LANCASTER
New Holland
Columbia
Manheim
Ephrata
Honey Brook
Downingtown
Coatesville
West Chester
CHESTER
Media
Darby
Kennett Square
Oxford
MONTGOMERY
Valley Forge
Wayne
Ardmore
Swarthmore
Exxon Map-1976
76
77
-69-

encouraged by the lack of grammatical and orthographical standardization, the sub-dialects of all four regions are generally understood by all speakers of Pennsylvania German.[70]

The second factor which has delayed standardization of Pennsylvania German reflects the fate of standard High German as an official language in America. Standard High German was undergoing a levelling process in Germany during the course of the German immigrations to America. The long process of standardization of High German had been initiated in the sixteenth century by Martin Luther's German Bible. Final efforts to standardize the language resulted in Johann Christoph Adelung's two volume Umständliches Lehrgebäude der Deutschen Sprache, published in 1782. This thorough grammar was indicative of a new sense of pride which existed in Germany vis-à-vis the German tongue. Latin and, by the seventeenth century, French were considered superior to the German vernacular. However, with the new interest and pride in the German language which was expressed during the eighteenth century by Adelung, as well as other Germanists, it is understandable that the German settlers did not quickly abandon their native tongue for English.

As early as 1739, the first German daily newspaper was published in America. Entitled Der Hoch Deutsch Pennsylvanisch Geschichts Schreiber, this newspaper was published in Pennsylvania by Christoph Saur from 1739 until the Revolutionary War. It later served as an example for

the many German newspapers which flourished throughout the state of Pennsylvania beginning around the turn of the nineteenth century. The years between 1812 and the Civil War saw in particular the establishment of many papers in towns such as Allentown, Lebanon, Kutztown, Reading, and Lancaster (see map,p.69). Daily papers, together with Almanacs, the Bible, and hymn books, all written in standard High German, made up the libraries of most Pennsylvania German farmers during the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries.[71]

In addition to the continual presence of High German in daily newspapers and religious works, a tremendous number of German textbooks were written in the first half of the nineteenth century. ABC books and German grammars were written first to satisfy the needs of the Reformed and Lutheran parochial schools, and secondly to serve children who were tutored at home. Standard High German was taught and used in such important books as that by C. Becker, Der Allgegenwärtige Deutsche Sprachlehrer des Wort Gottes....Eingerichtet zum Gebrauch der Schüler und zu Hause für Lehrer und Schüler (Easton, Pa.: C.J. Hutter, 1818), and the repeatedly published Hochdeutsches Lutherisches ABC of the 1820's and 1830's.[72]

Standard High German could have continued to serve the needs of the Pennsylvania Germans had it not been gradually replaced in all Pennsylvania schools with English. English took the place of German as a direct result of the

common school laws of the 1830's. Until that decade, most Pennsylvania German children had been educated either at home or in parochial Lutheran, Amish, or other sectarian schools. However, the state increasingly saw the need for some kind of free, tax-supported, public schools which would insure that schooling would not take second place to the needs of the farm. As a result, a move was made to centralize school systems in the 1830's. As Pennsylvania German children were drawn from their farms and integrated into the American community, they became more and more fluent in English, while standard High German was used only for prayer, hymns, and Bible readings. The Amish with their "Triple-Talk" are a current vestige of this era of trilingualism among the Pennsylvania Germans (see pp.34-5).

By the mid-nineteenth century, Pennsylvania German began to be appreciated as a separate dialect. It had already developed its unique phonological, morphological, and syntactical features described in chapter IV, to set it apart from its European cousins. Furthermore, as English slowly replaced High German in schools, the Pennsylvania German dialect took the place of German as the symbol of Pennsylvania Germanism. This new appeal to the dialect to carry on "Dutch" traditions attracted new attention to Pennsylvania German, and stimulated the first attempts to standardize its helter-skelter orthography.

It is interesting to note that the first three dictionaries of Pennsylvania German were compiled in order

to help dialect speakers learn English. Dr. A.R. Horne of Kutztown published the first dictionary in 1875, "M Horn sei Pennsilfawnish Deitsh Buch". His was followed in 1879 by E.H. Rauch's Pennsylvania Deitsh Hond-Booch, and then in 1895 by a dictionary compiled by J.C. Lins. Lins, in his Common Sense Pennsylvania German Dictionary, clearly states his intention "...to aid such Pennsylvania Germans as are anxious to acquire a knowledge of the English language."[73] Furthermore, the different spellings of "Buch" by Horne and Rauch in the titles of their dictionaries are simple proof of their lack of interest in standardization of the dialect.

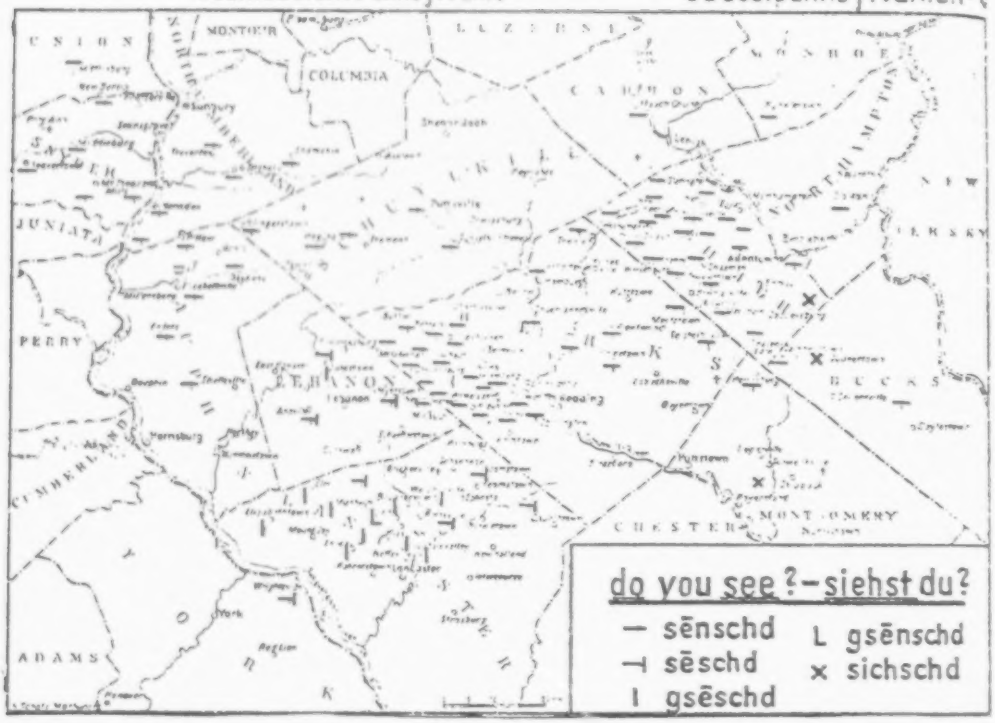
However, the development of the young grammarian school of linguists in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century brought a historical and descriptive approach to the study of language and dialects. The effects of this movement are evident in S.S. Haldeman's descriptive presentation of Pennsylvania German in Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English. This work was published in 1872 and describes the phonology of the dialect and compares it to High German. M.D. Learned's Pennsylvania German Dialect, Part I, a more scholarly and thorough work on the origins and characteristics of Pennsylvania German, appeared in 1888. Part II of this work was left incomplete, however, by Learned's death.

Finally, Marcus B. Lambert published his Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania German Dialect

in 1924, the first real attempt to gather all the words of this dialect. Lambert's dictionary includes 16,438 entries, in addition to an appendix of 517 English loan words and hybrid derivatives. A German scholar, Lambert chose German sound values for his orthography in contrast to Horne and Rauch, both of whom had used English sound values in their dictionaries.[74] To this day, Lambert's work remains the most comprehensive dictionary of the Pennsylvania German dialect.

Lambert's dictionary was the first of a series of works which followed in the 1930's and 1940's; all of them attest to a new and genuine interest on the part of American scholars in the German dialect of Pennsylvania. One of the first of these scholars was Albert F. Buffington, whose Harvard Dissertation of 1937 is entitled Pennsylvania German: a Grammatical and Linguistic Study of the Dialect. Buffington's dissertation has deepened Learned's descriptive and historical study of the language, and led the way for other Pennsylvania German scholars. Studies of Pennsylvania German dialect variations have been made by Lester Seifert and Carroll Reed, whose field studies of the dialect have resulted in their Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German, published in 1954 (see p.75). The subject of English loan words in Eastern York County has been researched by J. William Frey. Furthermore, Frey has contributed the first Pennsylvania German grammar published in 1942, which attempts to standardize the morphology and syntax of the

Southeastern Pennsylvania Südostpennsylvanien



Lester Seifert and Carroll Reed. A Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German. (Marburg: Lahn, 1954.) p.34

II. Grammar

Die œrscht Schtun

(Lesson One)

A. Forms and Rules

§ 9. **Articles:** the definite article, **der die es** *the*, and the indefinite article, **en** (or **'n**) *a, an*, are declined as follows:

	Definite			
	Singular			Plural
	masculine	feminine	neuter	m,f,n
Common	der	die	es, 's	die
Possessive	's	--	--	--
Dative	em, 'm	der,de	em, 'm	de
	Indefinite			
	masculine	feminine	neuter	
Common	en, 'n	en, 'n	en, 'n	
Dative	me	re	me	

J. William Frey. A Simple Grammar of Pennsylvania Dutch. (Clinton, S.C.: J. William Frey, 1942.) p.10.

dialect (see p.75).

The real problem of standardizing orthography alone was taken up at a meeting at Reading, Pa. in December, 1938. Members of both the Pennsylvania German Society and the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society devised a spelling system which was ratified at a final meeting in January, 1939, at Hershey, Pa. The list of participants in this standardization movement is indeed impressive. Well known dialect poets and writers, such as John Birmelin, as well as many scholars interested in all aspects of the Pennsylvania German dialect, attended the Hershey meeting. They sought to compromise once and for all on the issue of High German versus English sound values. They agreed on the following steps towards standardization:

1. The use of the German umlaut must be abandoned due to its impracticality with regard to English presses.
2. The principle of eliminating unnecessary letters was approved.
3. Nouns are to be capitalized as in standard High German.
4. Vowels should receive their German sound value.
5. Consonants should conform to the sound they express in English. ex: SG Traum = PaG Draam.
6. The use of "y" in the final position and "j" in a medial position must be discouraged.
7. "Sch" will be continued to be spelled as such, and not "sh".
8. "v" is to be used in an initial position only; otherwise "f" should be used.
9. The English sound "aw" should be written in PaG as "aa".

10. The English sound of long "a" as in "gate" should be written in PaG as "ee".

11. SG "auch" will become PaG "aa". 75

How effective have these rules been in standardizing the orthography of Pennsylvania German since 1939? In a comparison of two newspaper articles, both of April 20, 1977, it becomes evident that the choice of whether to conform to these eleven guidelines established at the Hershey meeting in 1939 has been left totally up to the individual. Der Shdivvel Knecht of Seisholzville follows his own original spellings (pp.57-58), whereas Der Gense Yaager of The Budget has attempted to conform to a standardized orthography (p.78). Neither author uses the German umlaut and both capitalize their nouns, in keeping with rule 1 and 3 of the Hershey meeting. However, both have separate approaches to the other nine rules of orthography, as the following comparison illustrates:

2. Elimination of unnecessary letters: ex:

Shdivvel Knecht (SK)	Gense Yaager (GY)
a. tzu-rick (1.41)	zerick (1.1)
b. henn (1.13)	hen (1.7)

4. PaG vowels should retain SG sound values:ex:

SK	GY
a. rous (1.98)	aus (1.49)
b. owwer (1.21)	awwer (1.11)

5. PaG consonants should retain English sound values: ex:

SK	GY
a. tzea (1.13)	zwee (1.31)

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VOLUME 87 NO. 51 SUGARCREEK, TUSCARAWAS COUNTY, OHIO PHONE: Area Code 216 - 852-2013 WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20,

Es Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch Eck

Editor: C. Richard Beam
406 Spring Drive, Millersville, Penna. 17551

AM DIEF SEE FISCHE IN VIRCHINNY
DER GENSE YAAGER

Do etliche Yaahr zerick hawwich die Mamm gsaat: "Mir gehn noch Virchinny mei Bruder Dan bsuche."

Ich un die Mamm sin uff die Bus in Wooster un datt druff gebliwwe en ganse Nacht un der negscht Daag. Die Mamm gsaat, sie hot het gwisst as die Welt so groos is.

Der Bruder Dan un sei Family waarde froh fer uns sehne. Sei Buwe hen glei ausgmacht, as sie nemme uns fische uff em See die weil as mir in Virchinny sin.

Weiss Grund! Der See is gross! Why, dem Onkel Tscho sei Fischdamm deheem is gnapps en Koppli voll gehich dem See.

Die Mamm hot gezehlt fer mitgeh fische. Awwer wo sie es Boat gsehne hot, hot sie gsaat mit Ernscht: "Ich geh net uff sell Boat un schtell mich so in die Gfaahr."

Was fer duh nau? Well, die Mamm hot endlich ausgmacht, sie bleibt yuscht am Schtrand nooch un baad idder (ihrer) Fiess die vier Schtund, weil as mir fische.

Es waar waahrlich net en glee Boat, gaar fimfundreissich Fuss lang. Mir sin sex odder siwwe Meil naus eb mir gschtoppt hen fer fische.

Der Gnecht as uff dem Boat gschafft hot, is kumme mit en Fischgatt fer mich. Des waar some Maschien. Die hot eh Schpul draa mit en Handgrenk. Der Dan saagt mir, der Schpul hett iwwer en hunnert Yaard Schnur druff. So Fische hawwich so Lebdaag net gedraamt!

Du deetscht net glaawe, wie die Fisch-waerm geguckt hen. So dick as en Finger un bleech weiss. Der Dan saagt mir, sie heese Schrimp un deel Leit brode sie un esse sie. Nix kumm raus! Kenn Fischwaerm fer mich. Es macht nix aus, wann du sie Schrimp heescht.

Des Boat hot so wennich gschockelt un iwwer der Weil hot mei Maage net zu gut gschpiert. Die zwee Breakfascht-Oyer un des Schungefleesch sin yuscht odlich ungeduldich werde. Ich hab schun gheert, as Seegrankeit nix is fer lache dewege. Sie saage ersch weil is es em bang as mir verleicht net deich's lebt. Endlich waert's so schlimm, as mir farcht mir macht's verleicht doch darich.

Mit so wichdiche Gedanke waar ich net grischt, wo eppes so bissel gezoppt hot an mei Schnur. Uff eemol nemmt des Ding hold. "Ich bin fescht an eppes," saag ich zum Bruder Dan.

"Henk dezu!" greischt der Dan. "Du hoscht en grosser Fisch."

Liewiche Zeit! Des Ding hot grisse wie en Yaahralt-Kalb am End vun en fuffzich Fuss Schtrick. Mei Fischgatt is rumgeborge wie en Weidefitz un die Schnur is ganz wild vom Schpul gschprunge.

Es is mir in die Gedanke komme: Do hawwich hold am e Wallfisch. Der schleeft uns verleicht halbwegs noch dem Alde Land. Was gebt's mit die Mamm am Schtrand un die Kinner deheem?

Der Boat-Gnecht saagt mir der drehe an die Grenk. "Keep a tight line on him." Was schunscht denkt er as ich duh kann?

Uff emol tschumpt der Fisch aus em Wasser. Der guckt fimf - sex Fuss lang zu mir. Endlich grick ich ihn rei ans Boat un der Gnecht schleeft ihn iwwer die Seit rei. "It's a nice blue fish," saagt der Gnecht. "Close to twelve pounds and maybe 35 inches long."

Sell waar genunk fische fer mich. Ich waar ganz matt un zittrich in die Bee. Ich saag zum Bruder Dan: "Sell is genunk fer die Freindschaft zu verzehle fer die negschde zwansich Yaahr!"

This week we are printing our first real fish story and we dedicate it to all you fishermen out there! Now since ES BISCHLI-GNIPPLI is no fishermen, but has seen plenty in his family (uncles), he's going to present this with a straight face and no comments (other than to introduce the author).

This original account was mailed to us on January 31, 1977, by Leroy Miller of Virginia Beach, Virginia, who writes that "I have had numerous articles and feature stories published in newspapers and magazines. Those were always in English, however. Writing in Dutch is a new experience."

"As for the pen name I have chosen: The Geese Chaser. The idea goes back to when I was a youngster in Holmes County, Ohio. My cousins and I would drive their geese to the top of the hill behind Uncle John's barn. The geese would turn into the wind and fly fast above the farm buildings, much to the delight of us kids. My uncle John, now in his 70's, reminds me on infrequent visits to Holmes County: "Meinscht noch wo dir als die Gens gyaagt hen?"

Many thanks, Leroy, for sending your first opus in Dutch!

ES BISCHLI-GNIPPLI

April 20, 1977

6. No "y" in final position, and no "j" in a medial position: ex:

SK	GY
____	_____

7. SG "sch" should remain "sch" in PaG: ex:

	SK	GY
a.	Shule (1.35)	gschtoppt (1.18)
b.	sharrif (1.40)	Schnur (1.23)

8. "V" should be retained in initial position: ex:

	SK	GY
a.	Fer-leicht (1.61)	verleicht (1.34)
b.	fon (1.60)	vom (1.42)

9. The English sound of "aw" should be written "aa": ex:

	SK	GY
a.	drawm't (1.124)	gedraamt (1.24)
b.	grawt (1.8)	baad (1.15)

10. The English long "a" sound of "gate" should be written "ee": ex:

	SK	GY
a.	glae (1.14)	glee (1.17)
b.	yeader (1.25)	bleech (1.26)

11. SG "auch" should be written "aa": ex:

	SK	GY
a.	aw (1.23)	_____

The lack of standardized orthography in the Pennsylvania German dialect can only be viewed as detrimental to its survival. It is vitally important for any language to be read and understood equally well by all its speakers to insure a continued sense of community and a lively interest in the language. In Germany, Austria, and

Switzerland, dialects do not need to rely so heavily on standardization for their survival; they are constantly overshadowed by standard High German which supports its symbiotic dialects. However, Pennsylvania German lost contact with High German during the course of the last century, as English increasingly replaced High German as the official language of schools, business, and even religion. Hopefully a growing number of authors will follow in Der Gense Yaager's footsteps and adopt his uniform system of spelling. They will help Pennsylvania German make the important transition from a haphazard mixture of German dialects and English loan words and derivatives to a uniform and legitimate vehicle of expression for the thousands of Pennsylvanians who still use the dialect today.

CHAPTER VI

Pennsylvania German Dialect Literature - Poetry, Prose, Song.

The great migrations of Germans from the Rhine valley and Northern Switzerland during the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought many educated settlers to Pennsylvania.[77] These settlers had made their own decision to leave Europe. Many were pastors of the Mennonite, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches, and many were farmers, teachers, and tradespeople. They had left their homeland for different reasons: destitution caused by frequent wars, a need to practice their religious beliefs in freedom, and the desire simply to find a better home in "Penn's Wood". However, they all shared one thing in common: their native High German, which many both wrote and spoke with great fluency.

Every literate community produces a body of literature, and the Pennsylvania Germans are no exception. Their literature reflects the development of their own language, and its transition in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from standard High German to the Pennsylvania German dialect which is spoken today. Until a centralized school system was introduced in the 1830's, High German persisted as the official language of Church, school, and literature. English slowly took its place, however, during the rest of the nineteenth century in schools and even churches. Not so with literature; by 1840, the numerous dialects of the German settlers had experienced 150 years

of amalgamation. The Pennsylvania German dialect emerged, proving adequate for the large numbers of poems, books, plays, and songs written by Pennsylvania Germans since 1840.

The emergence of dialect writings around 1840 merely continued the literary tradition initiated by the very first settlers of Germantown. German colonial writers using High German were far more prolific than their English speaking counterparts. There were four times as many German as English writers composing verse during the colonial era; in fact, from 1683 to 1830, over 350 persons in Pennsylvania wrote about 10,000 poems in High German.[78]

Earl F. Robacker, the author of Pennsylvania German Literature - Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942, characterizes the first period of Pennsylvania German literature as "The Period of Greatest Religious Significance", from 1683 to 1800.[79] The poetry of this era was initially of a mystical nature, written by the religious leaders who organized the settlers to come to Pennsylvania. Francis Daniel Pastorius, founder of Germantown in 1683, was one of the most prominent literary figures of his day, writing verse in both English and German. The religious beliefs of his Quaker group dictated that all human beings are created equal. Thus, the Quakers of Germantown were the first to condemn slavery as early as 1690 (see chapter II, p.20). The following poem, authored by Pastorius, summarizes the anti-slavery sentiments of the Quakers:

Allermassen ungebührlich
Ist der Handel dieser Zeit
Daß ein Mensch so unnatürlich
Andre drückt mit Dienstbarkeit.
Ich möcht' einen solchen fragen,
Ob er wohl ein Sclav' möcht' sein!
Ohne Zweifel wird er sagen:
Ach, bewähr mich Gott: Nein, nein! 80

Pastorius' clear and simple language reflects his egalitarian beliefs. He opposed the unnatural difference in status between slave and master, daring to ask the latter if he, too, would wish to be a slave! (ll. 5-6)

A total of five schools of Pennsylvania German verse had evolved by 1750, all of a religious nature. From these schools the works of the Swenkfelder poets were collected in the Neu-Eingerichtetes Gesang-Buch in 1762, as were those of the Franciscan cloister at Ephrata, which published its musical manuscript book, Paradiesisches Wunderspiel, in 1766.[81]

However, after the initial surge of immigrants to Pennsylvania, less educated Palatines began to follow in the footsteps of the pioneering Mennonites, Dunkards, Swenkfelders, and Moravians. As a result, folk verse began to appear around 1750, written in the outdated style of the Baroque. It matched the mystical poetry of the religious sects in neither volume nor quality, however. The literature of the Pennsylvania Germans was increasingly in need of a new direction and purpose.

It is surprising that no work written in the dialect was recorded until the Moravian Reverend Emanuel Rondthaler

published his poem "Abendlied" in the religious magazine Deutscher Kirchenfreund in 1849. Two major factors had postponed the development of a dialect literature. First, the Pennsylvania German dialect required the many decades after 1683 to emerge as a relatively homogeneous dialect. Though by 1840 its sound had gained a certain degree of homogeneity, its orthography lacked any standardization, a problem which still today plagues Pennsylvania German writers. Secondly, because of High German, there had never been a place for the dialect in German-American literature. After the Common School Law of 1834, however, it can be assumed that fewer and fewer individuals had a working knowledge of High German. Only a dialect literature could fill the gap for the Pennsylvania Germans between their identity as "German-Americans" and their disappearing literary High German. What is the nature of the dialect literature which has emerged from the religious and Baroque traditions of the early German Pennsylvanians?

Pennsylvania German literature is folk literature. With all other folk literatures of the world it shares the themes of everyday life. The passage of time is reflected in images of the seasons and crops. The universal human emotions of love, joy, and sadness, and the events of birth and death are played out around the farm, school, and village square. Furthermore, nostalgic feelings towards childhood and the way life was in "the good old days" are often

expressed in Pennsylvania German poems, prose, plays, and songs. Often these works are didactic and moralizing and, like all folk literatures, there are many occasional works which are reserved for special events, such as weddings, family reunions, and birthdays.[82]

After Rondthaler's poem appeared in 1849, one man in particular served as a catalyst for Pennsylvania German literature. The dialect poet Henry Harbaugh read "Abendlied" and decided that he, too, would attempt to immortalize the Pennsylvania German dialect. Harbaugh realized the threat to the culture of German Pennsylvanians posed by the English language, and his poems are full of a feeling of "Sehnsucht" for earlier days.

Today, Henry Harbaugh remains the most popular dialect poet. A well-travelled man born in Pennsylvania in 1817, Harbaugh went to preparatory school in Ohio before he became a minister. He returned to Pennsylvania to preach, and later founded the popular magazine The Guardian. He was able to publish many of his poems in this magazine, and after his death his works were published in anthology form in 1870. The following is a verse from Harbaugh's "Heemweh" which he published in his magazine in 1861, describing his final farewell to his mother as he left for Ohio in 1836:

> Dort gab ich ihr mei Färewell
> Ich weinte als ich's gab,
> 'S war's letschte Mol in däre Welt
> Das ich ihr's gewe hab!
> Befor ich widder kumme bin
> War sie in ihrem Grab! [83]

His mother's death clearly augments his longing for his youth in Pennsylvania. The English word "farewell" has been used as a loan word by Harbaugh; the "b" of SG "gegeben" has become "w" of PaG "gewe" (1.4), in addition to the alteration of SG "der" to PaG "däre" (1.3) to help maintain the rhythm of the line. However, evidence of Harbaugh's German education prior to the Common School Law of 1834 is found in his otherwise correct and consistent use of German sound values.

Two other descendants of Henry Harbaugh's Swiss great-grandfather, Jost Harbaugh, were also destined to become noteworthy dialect poets: Henry Lee Fisher and Rachel Bahn. Fisher captured the customs of the Pennsylvania Germans in his two books Die Alte Zeite (1879) and Kurzweil un Zeitvertreib (1882); Rachel Bahn, a cripple, spent her life recording her family history, and also published dialect poems.

The list of dialect poets who have contributed to the volume of Pennsylvania German poetry is long: Edward Hermany, Eli Keller, J. Max Hark, Thomas Zimmerman, and Louise Weitzel, to name a few. Charles C. Ziegler, born in 1854, wrote poems which by some are considered the dialect's best. His anthology, Drauss un Daheem, was sold out when it was published in 1890. The author who was the most prolific of the Pennsylvania German writers was Harvey Miller, born in Dauphin County in 1871. Inspired by Harbaugh's poems, he published Pennsylvania Dutch Poems

and a second volume entitled Pennsylvania German Poems in 1906. The different titles of his works indicate the conflicting sentiments vis-à-vis "Dutch" versus "German" Pennsylvanians which still persist today. In 1907, his Pennsylvania German Stories was printed, followed in 1939 by G'shbos und Arnscht ("Fun and Seriousness"), a collection of both old and new poems and stories.[84]

The first book to be published in the Pennsylvania German dialect was written by Ludwig August Wollenweber, who, unlike the poets mentioned above, was born and educated in the Palatinate, near Zweibrücken. He immigrated to Pennsylvania in the 1830's and proceeded to travel the whole state on foot. It was this journey through Pennsylvania which inspired his book Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben, published in both Pennsylvania and Leipzig in 1869. In fact, one farmer in particular encouraged Wollenweber to put together his book of Pennsylvania German anecdotes and poems, as the following sections of his "Vorrede" point out. The section begins with a brief reference to Wollenweber's travels throughout Pennsylvania:

Bin ich doch schun gar manches Johr
durch Pennsylvenie geträwelt (gereist),
un hab das Land und die Leut, so ziemlich
gut kenne gelernt, hab viel Gutes aber
a manch' Nirnussiges gesehne,...do hab
ich doch ausgefunne, das Pennsylvenie un
die Pennsylvenier, die merste Länder und
Volk, die ich in meinem Leben in drei
Weltthel gesehene hab....Un doch gebt
es in der Welt un selber in Amerika noch
arg viel Leut, die noch net wisse, was
for ä schö's Land Pennsylvenie ischt, un
was for schmate (tüchtige) Leut drinn wohne. (p.3)

Wollenweber describes how he stopped on a rock to rest during his journey on foot and was soon joined by an old farmer. The farmer echoes Wollenweber's love for the region:

...Well, sagt er, ich wohne a paar Meile von do, un komme wanns Wetter schö ischt, schier alle Monat uf de Felse, un wann ich mich dann so recht satt gesehene hab, do geht mei herz uf, un ich mehn ich wär im rechte Tempel Gottes, und dank dem guten Vater un Schöpfer mit ganzem herze, daß er uns e so schön's un gut's Land gegebe hot. (p.4)

The author begins to see the value in writing a book about a land as beautiful as Pennsylvania. Dialect writings have already appeared in the Doylestouner Morgenstern, the Express, and in the Kutztowner Neutralist, so Wollenweber makes up his mind to write his work:

Nau hab ich a schon dran gedenkt, wenn e mol so e Bücherhändler dran gehn dät, un dät e Buch drucke losse wo mer in uns're egene deutsche Sproch, über unser Land un Volk lese könnte, un nebebei a so gespäßige Stückelchen nin bringe, wie se manchmol, im Doylestouner Morgenstern un im Express stehn, un wie se die Johre zurück im Kutztowner Neutralist gestanne hent, das em der Bauch vor Lache gewackelt hot, un ich bin schur davon alle meine Nochbere däte so e Buch kafe, un der Buchhändler dät net schlecht dabei ausmache und sich noch Dank dazu verdiene.

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Wollenweber uses German sound values and maintains a generally consistent orthography throughout his book, with the exception of the word "und" which he also spells "un". He is able to use the umlaut because his book was published both in Philadelphia and Leipzig by German presses.

Conversely, Wollenweber's prose identifies with the Pennsylvania German dialect particularly through the author's use of English loan words. "Geträwelt" (1.2), "schmate" (1.13), "Well" (1.14), and "schur" (1.31) are clear examples of such words. However, Wollenweber seems to use fewer English loan words than the seven percent figure ascertained by Albert F. Buffington in his 1941 study of English loan words in the speech of native dialect speakers of Pennsylvania German. In Wollenweber's day, English clearly had not permeated the dialect to the extent it has in the course of the twentieth century (see chp. III, p.34).

During Wollenweber's final working years, Thomas H. Harter was born in Center County, Pa. It was Harter's book, published in 1893, which was to outsell any other published in the dialect. As a newspaper owner, Harter contributed letters of social and political criticism to his papers. He used the penname "Gottlieb Boonastiel" and wrote his letters in dialect. Finally, in 1893, he chose 117 of his letters to be put together in book form, which he entitled Boonastiel, A Volume of Legend, Story, and Song.[86]

The name "Gottlieb Boonastiel" was inspired by that of another dialect writer, "Pit Schweffelbrenner", the name used by E.H. Rauch in his prose writings. Rauch had also followed on the heels of Dr. A.R. Horne's 'M Horn sei Pennsilfawnish Deitsh Buch with his Pennsylvania Deitsh Hondbooch in 1879, one of the first attempts to offer a

dictionary of the Pennsylvania German dialect (see chp. V, p.73). Rauch further contributed a growing volume of dialect writings with his translation of classic dramas, such as King Richard III. He also translated American classics, and was the first to put Washington Irving's legend Rip Van Winkle into Pennsylvania German in a version also designed for the stage.

Dr. Ezra Grumbine, born in 1845, can probably be credited with writing the first original dialect play, Die Inshurance Bussness. Drama was subsequently to become the most popular form of dialect literature. Clarence Iobst, for example, began his successful career as a dialect playwright with the première of his humorous play En Quart Millich un en Halb Beint Rahm in 1928. The fact that this one play was performed some sixty-six times before a total of about 30,000 spectators illustrates both its popularity and the number of people who still maintained a command of the dialect in the 1920's and 1930's.[87] Dramatists, such as comedy playwright Paul Wieand, the Reverend Thomas Brendle, Edith Fink, Verona Laubach, and John Kohl have insured the continued success of drama as a popular genre of dialect literature during the twentieth century.

Charles C. More, born in 1851, wrote many of his stories for two Allentown newspapers, Weltbote and Friedensbote. His Die Kutztaun Meel is generally considered to be the most popular short story written in the dialect. It is

the story of an old woman who moves to a small town in Pennsylvania in 1858. She appears unfriendly and strange to the neighbors. Her one pleasure in life is taking care of the Church cemetery across the street from her house. She mumbles:

> "...un wann ich dann ah mei Ruh findt, dann geh ich zu ihna schlofa, und dann bliehen die Blume ah for mich; un ebbes secht mer, dann falla ah von da Bletter uf sei Grab!" 88

The reader wonders who "sei Grab" refers to as More subtilely gives the reader a foreshadowing of the love theme of his story. The old woman's second fettish is the horn of the mail driver which bothers her every time the mail driver steers his coach through town. The old woman retaliates with a raised fist, which moves the old driver Natz, short for Ignatus, to merely blow harder on his horn!

More's quiet rural setting and his two main characters, Natz and the old maid, allow him the chance to focus on major themes of the nineteenth century world of the Pennsylvania Germans. As the story unfolds, we learn that Natz has fled Germany after the Revolution of 1848. He has settled in Pennsylvania but remains "da alt deitsch Natz", forever a German and not a true Pennsylvania German with pre-Revolutionary War roots in America. (More illustrates literarily the content of chp. II, namely that people who are called "Pennsylvania German" are only those immigrants and their descendents who came to America prior to 1775. See pp. 18-19.) The old woman mirrors Natz'

story. She too is called "die alt deitsch Maeg" by her neighbors. We learn that she has left her native Germany for America in search of her fiancée who had fought on the losing side of the 1848 Revolution.

One day she is overwhelmed with mental pictures of her past life and lost love. She spends all night in the cemetery and is found the next day by Natz and "...en Dokter, en Underteeker, un en Schtorhalter aus Kutztaun." The doctor pronounces her dead of exposure. The small group comes across some old papers in her house, one of which says:

Ignatus Michael Martin
und
Margaretha Johanna Reitz
Verlobte
Freiburg in Baden, den 17. September, 1847.

Natz is heartbroken to find his long lost love dead, and he too dies. The old maid Margaretha's prophecy is thus fulfilled: the two are buried side by side, "...dann fallen von da Bletter ah uf sei Grab." The timeless themes of love and death in a setting close to nature render Charles C. More's Die Kutztaun Meel one of the gems of Pennsylvania German folk literature.

More's stories were later supplemented by Harvey Miller's volume of Pennsylvania German Stories, published in 1907 (see p.87). And, the short story has retained its popularity for the Pennsylvania Germans. The following passage is from C. Richard Beam's Kurzgeschichten and was

included in the 1970 edition of the Eulenspiegel Jahrbuch, printed in Germany; it will serve to illustrate his version of Pennsylvania German:

> Till watt gedaaft:
> Em Till sei Druwwel (trouble) fer immer in Dummheede kumme, hot aagfange der Daag wie sei Memm (Mama) en noch de Karrich (Kirche) genumme hot en daafe losse (um ihn taufen zu lassen). So wie's ferzeelt (erzählt) is warre, is em Till sei Memm gschdolbert iwwer en grosser Schdee un der Till is Kopp un Hals inne Dreckloch gfalle - un as er net fersoffe is waar alles. Die Zeit waar zu katz (kurz) for heem geh en reiniche un rumschribbe. Die Memm hot en noch de Karrich gnumme so dreckich as er waar un der Parre (Pfarrer) hot'n seller Weg (in der Weise) gedaaft - un wu ferurascht (verursacht) soll hawwe, ferwas er immer wie er waar: schwach in de Gedanke un gschliffe (pfiffig) dabei.
>
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Beam's Till story offers many examples of dialectical features unique to the Pennsylvania German dialect. Returning to the list of phonological features on pp.50-52, the SG high vowels are reduced to short "a" (ex: SG Kirche = PaG Karrich - l.4,12); "r" disappears when it is followed by a dental (ex: SG kurz = PaG katz - l.11); an additional vowel occurs in "Karrich" (l1.4,12); certain consonant changes occur (ex: SG taufen = PaG daafe - 1.5, SG haben = PaG hawwe - 1.16); finally, the PaG pronoun "as" is used (l1.9,13). The figure Beam has chosen for his anecdote is particularly appropriate. Till Eulenspiegel has always been society's whipping boy since his first appearance in print in Germany toward the end of the fifteenth century. He has been active in the folk literatures of many languages,

and it is not at all surprising to find him in that of the Pennsylvania Germans.

The poem, the novel, drama, and the short story are all genres which have helped complete the extensive literature of the Pennsylvania Germans. The one genre that remains, however, came before all the others and is shared by more people than any other: the song. Albert F. Buffington, in particular, has contributed to the preservation and the study of folksongs in Pennsylvania German. He published a volume of Pennsylvania German Secular Folksongs as recently as 1974. In this comprehensive collection, Buffington has divided the folksongs into the following four catagories: songs which were brought over by German and Swiss immigrants from 1683 to 1775, and which are also found in Arnim and Brentano's Des Knaben Wunderhorn, published in 1806-1808; songs brought by the Germans who came to America following the Revolution of 1848; Pennsylvania German translations of American and English folksongs; and original Pennsylvania German folksongs.[90]

The old familiar themes of everyday life, common to all folk literatures, are captured in the folksongs of the Pennsylvania Germans. Mothers-in-law are a fact of life for everyone. The following lyrics offer one attitude toward this older member of the family!

#72 Meini aldi Schwiegermudder

Meini aldi Schwiegermudder waar en aldes Dunnder (Hellcat).
Siwwe Yaahr waar sie im Himmel, Kummt sie widder runder!
Waar sie net en verdammdes Weib,
Ass sie net im Himmel bleibt?

Meini aldi Schwiegermudder (con't)

Un wir wollden keine Schwiegermammemaa,
Schwiegermammemaa, Schwiegermammemaa,...(repeat)

"Meini aldi Schwiegermudder" belongs to the first group of folksongs included in Buffington's collection. "O Dannebaam", from the same collection, offers a good example of an occasional song, sung only at Christmas:

#44 O Dannebaam

O Dannebaam, O Dannebaam, wie grie sin deini Bledder!
(repeat twice)

Im Winderzeit, du do-di Zweig,
Im Summerzeit, du grieni Zweig!
O Dannebaam, O Dannebaam, wie grie sin deini Bledder!

Songs such as "Du, du liegscht mir im Hazen" and "Unser Deitsche Brieder" illustrate Buffington's second group. Some of the most amusing songs are the dialect versions of American folksongs. Can the reader guess the titles of the two following songs, the first verses of which are below?[91]

#21 _____

Ich hab gedraamt die anner Nacht,
Wie alles waar gans schtill.
Die Till die waar bei mir im Bett,
Un ich waar bei der Till.
Ich waar als net geweehnt gewest,
Wie ich waar yung un bleed,
Bei annre Leit im Bett zu sei,
Besonders bei de Meed.

refrain:
Ei du Zuschtand! Was waar mer des en Freed!
Bei annre Leit im Bett zu sei, Besonders bei de Meed!

#62 _____

Sie kummt iwwer der Barrig, wann sie kummt;
Sie kummt iwwer der Barrig, wann sie kummt;

#62 _____ (con't)

O sie kummt iwwer der Barrig;
Noh watt sie moll gschbarrickt,
Wann sie kummt iwwer der Barrig, wann sie kummt.

Not all Pennsylvania German folksongs have been derived from outside sources. As Buffington's fourth catagory indicates, anonymous writers have contributed lyrics to original dialect songs. One song which offers a particularly large number of variations, thus indicating its general popularity among dialect speakers, is "Meedli, witt du heiere?" In addition to its song form included in Buffington's collection, Buffington also encountered it as a poem in 1934 in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. Its simple theme and dialogue form allow an endless number of verses to be improvised to fit any situation. The song's adaptability has surely enhanced its popularity:

1934 poem

Maidel wilscht du heirathen?

Meedel wilscht du heirathen?
Ya, Vaader ya.
Dann heirat du en Bauer?
Nein, Vaader nein.
Bauer warra will ich net,
Schtall ausmischte maag ich net.

Nein, Vaader nein
Es muss en annere sei.

Maidel, wilscht du heirathen?
Ja, Vaader ja.
So nimscht du einem Musicgant?
Ja, Fader ja.
Musicgant warra will ich don
Singen und donza kon ich shone.
Ja, Fader ja.

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1974 song

#42 Meedli, witt du heiere?

Meedli, witt du heiere?
Ya, Vaader, ya!
So heierscht du en Bauer.
Nein, Vaader nein!
Bauer heiere will ich net;
Kiehschtall mischde
gleich ich net.
Nein, Vaader nein!
Es muss en annere sei.

Meedli, witt du heiere?
Ya, Vaader ya!
So heierscht du en Musigaaner
Ya, Vaader ya!
Musigaaner will ich heiere;
Singe un Danse kann ich schun.
Ya, Vaader ja!

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In addition to these two variations, Buffington also includes two more versions of verse one in his collection of secular folksongs. The age-old theme of marriage provides the background for a listing of the members of most any community, the "Parre" (song verse 2), the "Dockder" (song verse 3), the "Loiyer" (song verse 4), and so on.

The genre of the Pennsylvania German dialect folksong is far from dead. In fact, in late 1977,a record album will be released entitled Songs of the Tulpehocken. It will be recalled that one of the early groups of settlers who came to Pennsylvania in 1723 had first settled in New York and had later moved on to the region along the Tulpehocken River in Southeastern Pennsylvania (see chp. II, pp. 25-26). Since 1723, the Tulpehocken region in Berks County has remained a center of Pennsylvania German culture. Songs from Buffington's Pennsylvania German Secular Folksongs and "Dutchified German" Spirituals and Songs along the Mahantongo by Boyer, Buffington, and Yoder have been combined in an "Orchestral Song Cycle". These Pennsylvania German dialect lyrics have been put to music by composer Stephen Douglas Burton and are sung by tenor Kenneth Riegel.

The lyrics of Songs of the Tulpehocken best illustrate the status of the dialect today, which remains unstandardized and retains its dialectical features unique to the Pennsylvania German dialect. The themes are perfectly suited to those of any folk literature. The song cycle

is divided into the four seasons. Beginning with spring, joyful optimism is expressed:

Marriyeds frieh wann ich aufschteh, 1
da schau ich in die Wolke. 2
Da geht auf die Lebens Sonnee. 3
O was en hallichi Zeit. 4
Die Marriehend Stund hot Gold im Mund. 5

Summer follows with a rowdy drinking scene, mirroring the confidence of youth:

Drinkt,Buwe, Drinkt! 6
Ihr seid noch alle yung. 7
Freut euch des Lebens, 8
Weil noch das Laempchen glueht, 9
Pfluecket die Rose, 10
Eh' sie verblueht! 11

Three songs depicting war follow. "Fall" and middle age throw us into life with new intensity, as new crises and challenges arise:

Frisch zum Schtreit 12
Ya des iss meinem Geflicht! 13
Mudich, mudich Schtreitet!... 14
Vater, Muter, ins gesammt, 15
Brieder und ihr Schwestern, 16
Kommt und reicht mir eure Hand, 17
Noch ein Mal, zum letzten.... 18

Once overcome, war is forgotten and life experiences a "New Beginning". This time love is the central theme which coincides with the ripening of the crops, harvest-time, and fertility:

Roode Roose sin si schee, 19
Roode Roose sin si schee, 20
Liebscht du mich, so liewich dich. 21
Kumm zu schtell dich neewich mich. 22

Finally,winter comes. Despair is expressed about life on earth and, with death approaching, life after death is extolled:

Faravell, Faravell,
Breeder, faravell....
Die Sonne, die Scheinet nur trueb',
Die Felder stehn traurig dabei;...
Daart iss die himmlische Ruh,
Daart wo die ewichi Frieden,
in der Todenschtund.
O bringt uns zur Ruh,...

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The themes of youth, family, love, and death are beautifully framed by the evolution of the seasons. Furthermore, a closeness to nature is felt throughout the work (ex: Sonnee, 1.3; Rose, 1.10; Felder, 1.26). The use of such a universally familiar proverb as "Die Marriehend Stund hot Gold im Mund" (1.5) further identifies Songs of the Tulpehocken as a work of folk literature. And, the theme of the unrelenting passage of time is symbolized by the wilting rose, an image found in German literature since the poetry of the Middle Ages. It is interesting to note that the traditional High German folksong "Freut euch des Lebens", a song belonging to Buffington's first group of older dialect folksongs, is used to express this theme of the transient nature of life (11. 8-11).

No apparent attempt has been made to standardize the spelling of the lyrics, as the following examples illustrate:

first version:	second version:
Rose (1.10)	Roose (1.19)
Brieder (1.16)	Breeder (1.24)

first version:	second version:
Sonnee (1.3)	Sonne (1.25)
traurig (1.26	ewichi (1.28)
kumm (1.22)	kommt (1.17)

Certain specific Pennsylvania German dialect features are also evident in the lyrics. For example, high vowel sounds take on a neutral "a" sound as in "schee" (SG "schön", 1.19); an additional vowel occurs in the SG word "Morgens", which becomes "Marriyeds" (1.1); the "r" of SG "herrliche" disappears before a dental to form the PaG word "hallichi" (1.4). Finally, certain consonant changes are present in the text: "t" becomes "d" (ex: PaG Drinkt, 1.6), and "b" becomes "w" (ex: PaG Buwe, 1.6). The folk themes and the unique spellings and linguistic features found in Songs of the Tulpehocken offer contemporary proof of the validity of Pennsylvania German dialect literature.

The longing for the lost days of youth in Harbaugh's "Heemweh", the familiar folk figure of Till Eulenspiegel, and the song of a resurrected mother-in-law all identify Pennsylvania German dialect literature with other folk literatures of the world. However, it is also distinctly American, divorced from any feeling of loyalty to Germany and the "Vaterland".[95] Works, such as Rauch's Rip Van Winkle, Wollenweber's Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben, and Grumbine's Die Inshurance Bussness, have all helped to establish Pennsylvania German dialect literature as part of the American folk tradition. The soon to

be released Songs of the Tulpehocken brings new hope that this dialect literature will remain alive and will continue to contribute to the American folk arts.

CHAPTER VII

The Pennsylvania German Dialect - A Look into the Future

This thesis has introduced the reader to several aspects of the German dialect which is spoken in Southeastern Pennsylvania. Included is its background, its unique linguistic features, and its literature. The Pennsylvania German dialect has assured the survival of an extensive American subculture after it emerged in the early 1800's as a new homogeneous South-German dialect. However, one factor in particular threatens its future: Pennsylvania German remains a dialect which is severed from the language of its origins. Since the 1830's, standard High German has faded from its place in Pennsylvania German society. It has abandoned its Pennsylvania dialect to an otherwise English speaking world.

Can the Pennsylvania German dialect survive? On the one hand, the dialect's unstandardized orthography cannot help but to contribute to its eventual atrophy. Fewer and fewer people will take the time to decipher its random spellings. But three factors speak in favor of its survival for a number of decades to come.

First of all, like most dialects, Pennsylvania German belongs to a farming, as opposed to an urban, community. The original colonial German settlers left their once productive farms in the Rhine valley and transferred their farming know-how to the fertile valleys of Pennsylvania.

Today, the farm provides a lucrative livelihood for the many Amish and Mennonite farmers of Lancaster County and the other "Pennsylvania Dutch" farmers of Berks, Lehigh, and other neighboring counties. As long as the small farm in the Eastern United States survives in the American economy, the Pennsylvania German farm will prevail also. And, farm life will continue to harbor the dialect whose vocabulary is so well suited to the normal daily occurances on a farm, to farm animals, natural phenomena, and to the traditions which tie a farming community together.

Secondly, the Pennsylvania Germans are very proud of their tidy and productive way of life. They are equally proud of the dialect which represents this distinct lifestyle. A group of intellectuals for many years has shown interest in Pennsylvania German through the combined efforts of both the Pennsylvania German Society and the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society. The Pennsylvania German Society was founded as early as 1890; its purpose has always been to record and preserve the folklore and history of the Pennsylvania Germans. From 1890 to 1966, the society published 63 volumes of Proceedings, which focused on all aspects of Pennsylvania German culture, its origins and its many contributions to America.

In 1935, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society was organized. Its findings were printed in 28 volumes of its Yearbook. In the words of the noted Pennsylvania German scholar, John Joseph Stoudt, the function of this

new sister society was as follows:

> "...die Aufmerksamkeit der wissenschaftlichen gelehrten Welt auf die reichen unentdeckten Möglichkeiten pennsylvaniadeutscher Forschung zu lenken; und zweitens das breite Publikum mit dem Eigenwert der pennsylvaniadeutschen Kultur vertraut zu machen." 96

The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society also inspired the movement towards standardization of orthography. It organized the meeting of the many Pennsylvania German scholars and authors who met in Hershey in 1939 in order to work out one universally accepted orthography for their dialect. The differences in spelling between Der Shdivvel Knecht (pp.57-58) and Der Gense Yaager (p.78), both of April 20, 1977, unfortunately illustrate the only limited success of the Folklore Society in its standardization attempts.

Finally, the two societies merged in 1966 to form The Pennsylvania German Society, located in Breinigsville, Pa., between Allentown and Kutztown. Their combined publication is currently entitled Der Reggeboge. Under the direction of David Hottenstein, the society actively works toward its original goal: to create interest in and to preserve the Pennsylvania German dialect.[97]

The rural environment of the dialect together with the efforts of The Pennsylvania German Society comprise the first two factors which contribute to the survival of Pennsylvania German. Both these factors stem from within

the society where the dialect is spoken. The third factor is one which is not limited to the speakers of Pennsylvania German, but reflects a trend throughout all America. During the course of the twentieth century, interest in American folklore traditions has grown. For decades, the United States was preoccupied with its rapidly expanding technology, economy, and world perspective. Today, Americans are more introspective; we are curious about our ancestors and we all want to know more about our "Roots". The Bicentennial efforts in 1976 clearly emphasized a new look to our past as well as to our future!

The business of tourism has grown up around the new American interest in our history and folklore. Just as The Pennsylvania German Society presents an intellectual and academic approach to the world of Pennsylvania German, tourism offers a commercial presentation to the public of the unique culture found in Southeastern Pennsylvania. Museums, tours of the Amish country and of historic Germantown (which is today within the city limits of Philadelphia), and pamphlets describing the sights and sounds of the Pennsylvania German region are all organized for the thousands of tourists who visit "Dutch" country every year.

The popularity of this region as a tourist center cannot but illustrate to the native Pennsylvania Germans the worth and individuality of their culture. Their language continues in newspaper articles, such as those of

Der Shdivvel Knecht and Der Gense Yaager; their dialect is heard on radio talk shows, like the hour call-in program on Thursday evenings on FM radio 107 in Boyertown; evening courses are offered to teach students the Pennsylvania German dialect; the art of "Dutch" cooking is carried out in numerous restaurants famous for their "Pennsylvania Dutch" cuisine. The world now knows about the Pennsylvania Germans. This knowledge, along with recognition through both academic study and the tourist trade, encourages pride in the Pennsylvania German culture and dialect. The persistance of farm life and a fresh interest both inside and outside of Pennsylvania in its German-American subculture will continue to insure the survival of the Pennsylvania German dialect for many decades to come.

Footnotes

1. William Beidelman, The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1969), p.13.

2. Carroll E. Reed, "The German Dialect of Southeastern Pennsylvania", Bulletin of the New England Modern Language Association, 5 (1943), p.26.

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6. See Beidelman (footnote 1), p.23.

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9. Walter A. Knittle, Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), p.4.

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11. See Kuhns (footnote 3), p.37.

12. See Pennsylvania Writers' Program (footnote 10), p.28.

13. William I. Hull, William Penn - A Topical Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p.81.

14. Ibid.

15. See Knittle (footnote 9), p.20.

16. See Kuhns (footnote 3), p.37.

17. Ernst Christmann, "Das Pennsylvaniadeutsch als Pfälzische Mundart", Rheinisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde, 7 (1950), p.49.

18. See Kuhns (footnote 3), p.31.

19. Fredric Klees, The Pennsylvania Dutch (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950), p.8.

20. See Kuhns (footnote 3), p.39.

21. Ibid., p.42.

22. See Pennsylvania Writers' Project (footnote 10), p.29.

23. See Kuhns (footnote 3), p.43.

24. Ralph Wood, The Pennsylvania Germans (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943), p.6.

25. See Knittle (footnote 9), p.19.

26. Ibid., p.24.

27. Ibid., p.26.

28. See Christmann (footnote 17), p.49.

29. See Knittle (footnote 9), p.66.

30. See Kuhns (footnote 3), p.49.

31. See Knittle (footnote 9), p.23.

32. Ibid., p.47.

33. See Beidelman (footnote 1), p.44.

34. See Knittle (footnote 9), p.56.

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36. Ralph Wood, "Die Deutsche Volkssprache in Nordamerika", Wirkendes Wort, 9 (1961), p.205.

37. Ibid., p.203.

38. John T. Waterman, A History of the German Language (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), p.35-37.

39. See Christmann (footnote 17), p.54.

40. Albert F. Buffington, "English Loan Words in Pennsylvania German", in: Studies in Honor of John Albrecht Walz (Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Press, 1941), p.68.

41. Ibid., p.81.

42. J. William Frey, "Amish 'Triple-Talk'", American Speech, 20 (1945), p.87.
On page 92 of the same article, J.W. Frey includes the following comparative examples of New High German (NHG), Amish High German (AHG), and Amish Pennsylvania German (APaG):

NHG	AHG	APaG
deine	deine	dei
deinen	deinen	deine
Liebe	Liebe	Lieb
nehmen	nehmen	nemme
genommen	genommen	g'numme

43. Heinrich Kelz, Phonologische Analyse des Pennsylvania-deutschen (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1971), p.4.

44. See Buffington (footnote 40), p.66.

45. Albert F. Buffington, "Pennsylvania German: Its Relation to Other German Dialects", American Speech, 14 (1939), p.286.

46. Ibid., p.281.

47. Otto Springer, "Pennsylvania German Ochdem "Atem" and the Problem of Hypercorrect Forms", Monatshefte 35 (1943), p.138.

48. Ibid., p.143.

49. Carroll E. Reed, The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks. Phonology and Morphology. Introduction in collaboration with Lester W. Seifert (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1949), pp.43-55.

50. Lester W. Seifert, "The Diminutives of Pennsylvania German", Monatshefte, 39 (1947), p.286.

51. Ibid., pp.291-292.

52. Carroll E. Reed (footnote 49), p.55.

53. Albert F. Buffington (footnote 45), p.279.

54. Gertrude A. Dürr, Sprachliche Bemerkungen zum Pennsylvania-Deutsch. Akten der vierten Arbeitstagung Österreichischer Linguisten, 6-8 December, 1975 (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1976), p.241.

55. Ibid., p.241-242.

56. Carroll E. Reed (footnote 49), p.46.

57. Carroll E. Reed, "The Question of Aspect in Pennsylvania German", The Germanic Review, 22 (1947), p.5.

58. Ibid., pp.11-12.

59. Gertrude A. Dürr (footnote 54), pp. 242-243.

60. "Der Shdivvel Knecht", Town and Country, Pennsburg, Pa., April 20, 1977, p.4, cols.4-5.

61. Carroll E. Reed (footnote 57), p.11.

62. Paul Schach, "The Formation of Hybrid Derivatives in Pennsylvania German", Symposium, 3 (1949), p.114.

63. Ibid., pp.115-120.

64. Ibid., pp.124-125.

65. Arthur H. Wilson, "English Spoken by Pennsylvania Germans in Snyder County, Pennsylvania", American Speech, 23 (1948), pp.237-238.

66. Hans Kurath, "German Relics in Pennsylvania English", Monatshefte, 37 (1945), p.101.

67. Arthur H. Wilson (footnote 65), p.238.

68. Carroll E. Reed (footnote 2), p.31.

69. Lester W. Seifert, "Lexical Differences between four Pennsylvania German Regions", Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Proceedings, 11 (1948), p.162.

70. Albert F. Buffington, "Linguistic Variants in the Pennsylvania German Dialect", Pennsylvania German Folklore Society Proceedings, 13 (1949), p.251. To solve the problem of orthography in his linguistic study of variants, Buffington includes his own orthographical system in his introduction; he thus provides the reader with consistent spelling for his many examples of regional variations.

71. Ralph C. Wood, "Journalism among the Pennsylvania Germans", in: The Pennsylvania Germans, ed. Ralph C. Wood, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), pp.133-137.

72. Ralph C. Wood, "Pennsylvania High German", The Germanic Review, 20 (1945), pp.306, 310.

73. Arthur D. Graeff, "Standardizing Pennsylvania German Orthography", Historical Review of Berks County, 4 (1940), p.83.

74. Otto Springer, "The Study of the Pennsylvania German Dialect", The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 42 (1943), p.11.

75. Arthur D. Graeff (footnote 73), p.86.

76. "Es Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch Eck", The Budget, Sugarcreek, Ohio, April 20, 1977, p.8, col.5.

77. Oscar Kuhns, (footnote 3), p.138.

78. John J. Stoudt, "Pennsylvania German Poetry until 1816 - A Survey", German Life and Letters, XIII (1960), p.145.

79. Earl F. Robacker, "Pennsylvania German Literature", reviewed by H.A. Pochmann, Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 39 (1945), p.79.

80. Ibid., p.146.

81. Ibid., pp. 148-149.

82. Lester W. Seifert, "Pennsylvania-German Dialect Literature, Part II", American-German Review, 8 (1941/42), p.30.

83. Ralph C. Wood (footnote 71), p.174.

84. Ibid., pp.195, 208.

85. Louis A. Wollenweber, Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben (Philadelphia and Leipzig: Verlag von Schafer u. Roradi, 1874), pp.3-4.

86. Ralph C. Wood (footnote 71), p.204.

87. Lester W. Seifert (footnote 82), p.33.
It is interesting to note that no one universal spelling is used for the two titles Die Inshurance Bussness (so spelled by Seifert, but spelled Die Insurens Bissniss in Wood's The Pennsylvania Germans and Die Inshurance Bissniss by Robacker) and En Quart Millich un en Halb Beint Rahm (so spelled in Wood's book and spelled En Quart Milich un en Halb-Beint Raahm by Seifert).

88. Charles R. Roberts, et al. Lewendiche Stimme aus Pennsilvani (Stuttgart and New York: B. Westermann & Co., 1929), p.48.

89. Gertrude A. Dürr (footnote 54), p.248.

90. Albert F. Buffington, Pennsylvania German Secular Folk-songs (Breinigsville, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. VIII, 1974), pp. XIV,XV.

91. The title of the first song is "Oh, Susannah!" and the second is "She'll be comin' around the mountain".

92. Albert F. Buffington, "Maidel wilscht du heirathen... A Hybrid Poem", American-German Review, 12 (1945/46), pp.30-31.

93. Albert F. Buffington (footnote 90), pp. 22-107.

94. Stephen Douglas Burton, Songs of the Tulpehocken, a Louisville recording, 1977.

95. Earl F. Robacker (footnote 78), p.80.

96. John Joseph Stoudt, "Die Aufgaben der Pennsylvania German Folklore Society", Deutschtum im Ausland, 23 (1940), p.57.

97. Any questions concerning the field of Pennsylvania German studies can be directed to David Hottenstein at the following address:

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